DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 426 594 FL 025 635

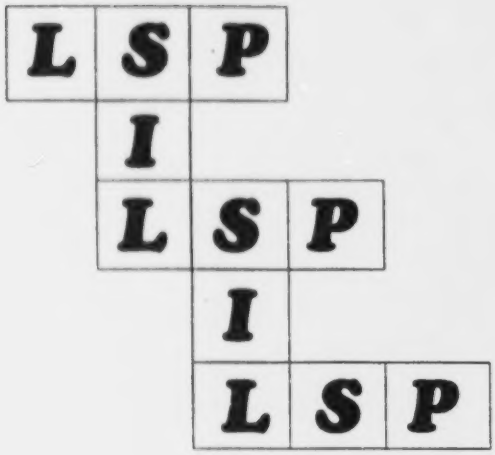
AUTHOR	Fukuda, Takashi
TITLE	A Discourse-Oriented Grammar of Eastern Bontoc.
INSTITUTION	Summer Inst. of Linguistics, Manila (Philippines).; Linguistic Society of the Philippines, Manila.
ISBN	ISBN-971-18-0314-3
ISSN	ISSN-0116-0516
PUB DATE	1997-00-00
NOTE	118p.
AVAILABLE FROM	SIL, Philippines Branch, Box 2270 CPO, 0199, Manila, Philippines ($13).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Studies in Philippine Linguistics; v10 n1 1997
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Descriptive Linguistics; Discourse Analysis; Foreign Countries; *Grammar; *Language Patterns; Language Research; Linguistic Theory; Morphology (Languages); *Sentence Structure; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS	*Bontok

ABSTRACT

The study presents a grammar of Eastern Bontoc, an Austronesian language of the northern Philippines that includes five village dialects and has about 8,000 speakers. Data are from transcribed recordings of primarily one dialect, gathered in 1977-80. The discourse-oriented grammar is outlined in six chapters: an introduction to the language, its speakers and dialects, the scope of the study, and principles of segmental phonology and morphophonemics; theoretical considerations concerning discourse-level structure, classification of discourse genres, and other structural concerns; patterns of structure from word to sentence level; aspects of behavioral discourse genre; characteristics of expository discourse genre; and conclusions. The appendix contains transcripts and translations. (Contains 69 references.) (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 426 594



PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
E. A. Hale
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

Studies in Philippine Linguistics

VOLUME 10 1997 NUMBER 1

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS
VOLUME 10

Editor
Mary Ruth Wise

Series Editors
Fe T. Otanes
Hazel Wrigglesworth

Studies in Philippine Linguistics is a joint venture undertaken by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics devoted to the timely publication of papers of an empirical or theoretical nature which contribute to the study of language and communicative behavior in the Philippines. A certain proportion of the papers published will be penultimate versions of works of special interest to the Philippine linguistic community destined for further publication in more final form elsewhere.

Linguists engaged in the study and description of Philippine languages are hereby invited to submit contributions for inclusion in this series.

Single issue selling price: US $13.00

A DISCOURSE-ORIENTED GRAMMAR OF EASTERN BONTOC

Takashi Fukuda

****

Compliments of
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
PHILIPPINES

****

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS
VOLUME 10 1997 NUMBER 1
LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
Manila

© 1997 Summer Institute of Linguistics
Manila
All rights reserved

ISSN 0116-0516
ISBN 97-18-0314-3
0697-2C

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS 6

PREFACE 7

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS 9

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION 11

1.1. Language affiliation 11
1.2. Language data 11
1.3. Previous studies 13
1.3.1. Bontoc and neighboring languages 13
1.3.2. Philippine languages 13
1.4. Scope and limitation of this study 14
1.5. Segmental phonology 14
1.6. Morphophonemics 16

II. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS 17

2.1. Theoretical perspectives on discourse level structure 17
2.2. Classification of discourse genres 18
2.3. Focus, topic, and subject 20

III. STRUCTURE FROM WORD TO SENTENCE LEVEL 22

3.1. Word formations and classes 22
3.1.1. Nouns 22
3.1.2. Pronouns 24
3.1.2.1. Personal pronouns 24
3.1.2.2. Demonstrative pronouns 26
3.1.2.3. Interrogative pronouns and other interrogatives 28
3.1.3. Adjectives 29
3.1.4. Numerals 31
3.1.5. Verbs 33
3.1.5.1. Nonstative verbs 33
3.1.5.2. Focus system 34
3.1.5.3. Stative verbs 36
3.1.5.4. Aspect 37
3.1.5.5. Causative and other affixes 40
3.1.6. Adverbs 42
3.1.7. Particles 43
3.1.7.1. Linker 43
3.1.7.2. Question words 44
3.1.7.3. Negative words 44
3.1.7.4. Attitudinal words 45
3.1.7.5. Case markers 46
3.1.7.6. Conjunctions 47
3.1.7.7. Interjections 49
3.1.7.8. Prepositions 49
3.2. Phrase structure 50

3.2.1. Noun phrase . . . 50
3.2.2. Verb phrase . . . 52
3.2.3. Adverbial phrase . . . 52
3.3. Clause structure . . . 53
3.3.1. Existential . . . 53
3.3.2. Equational . . . 54
3.3.2.1. Classificational . . . 54
3.3.2.2. Possessive . . . 54
3.3.2.3. Locative . . . 54
3.3.2.4. Identificational . . . 55
3.3.3. Verbal . . . 56
3.3.4. Expansion of a verbal clause . . . 59
3.3.4.1. Modal adverbs . . . 59
3.3.4.2. Manner in adverbial phrases . . . 59
3.3.4.3. Temporal adverbial phrases . . . 60
3.3.4.4. Locative adverbs . . . 60
3.3.4.5. The conjunction *kaman* . . . 61
3.3.5. Focus system . . . 61
3.3.6. Causative clauses . . . 64
3.3.7. Relative clauses . . . 65
3.3.8. Nominalized clauses . . . 66
3.4. Sentence structure . . . 67
3.4.1. Simple sentences . . . 67
3.4.1.1. Question sentence . . . 68
3.4.1.2. Imperative sentence . . . 70
3.4.1.3. Sentence inversion . . . 71
3.4.2. Complex sentence . . . 71
3.4.2.1. Coordinate sentence . . . 72
3.4.2.2. Antithetical sentence . . . 72
3.4.2.3. Comparison sentence . . . 73
3.4.2.4. Alternative sentence . . . 73
3.4.2.5. Contingent sentence . . . 74
3.4.2.6. Temporal sentence . . . 75
3.4.2.7. Conditional sentence . . . 77
3.4.2.8. Circumstance-result sentence . . . 78
3.4.2.9. Paraphrase sentence . . . 78
3.4.2.10. Introduction sentence . . . 78
3.4.2.11. Quotation sentence . . . 79
3.4.2.12. Concessive sentence . . . 79

IV. BEHAVIORAL DISCOURSE GENRE IN EASTERN BONTOC . . . 81

4.1. The communication situation . . . 81
4.2. Behavioral discourse genre and subtypes . . . 81
4.2.1. Plus agent orientation . . . 81
4.2.2. Minus contingent succession . . . 82
4.2.3. Subtypes of behavioral discourse genre . . . 83
4.3. The notional structure . . . 83
4.3.1. The notional script . . . 83
4.3.2. The macrostructure . . . 88
4.4. Transitivity . . . 90
4.5. Constituency structure . . . 91
4.5.1. Paragraph structure . . . 91
4.5.2. Peak . . . 92

4.5.3. Sentence . . . 93
4.5.4. Particle *at* . . . 94
4.5.5. Focus system . . . 94

V. EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE GENRE IN EASTERN BONTOC . . . 95

5.1. The communication situation . . . 95
5.2. The basic parameter values and subtypes of expository discourse . . . 96
5.2.1. Minus agent orientation . . . 96
5.2.2. Minus contingent temporal succession . . . 96
5.2.3. Subtypes of expository discourse genre . . . 97
5.3. The notional structure . . . 97
5.3.1. The notional script . . . 97
5.3.2. The macrostructure . . . 100
5.4. Transitivity . . . 100
5.5. Constituency structure . . . 101
5.5.1. Lexical cohesion . . . 101
5.5.2. Pronouns and participant reference . . . 102
5.5.3. Particles . . . 103
5.5.4. Sentence . . . 103
5.5.5. Sentence inversion . . . 105
5.5.6. Focus system . . . 106

VI. CONCLUSIONS . . . 107

APPENDIX . . . 108

REFERENCES . . . 114

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1. Proto Central Cordilleran 11
2. Classification of discourse genres 19
3. Subclassification of discourse genres 20
4. Transitive and receptive clauses 57
5. Stative and attributive clauses 58
6. Summary chart of complex sentences 80
7. The notional script 84
8. Script and macrostructure of behavioral text B3 89
9. Command element of behavioral text B3 90
10. Script of expository text E4 100
11. Summary chart of behavioral and expository discourse genres 107

Map. Eastern Bontoc Area 12

PREFACE

This study was presented in its original form in 1983 to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Texas at Arlington in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics. The present version has been slightly revised.

George L. Huttar, as supervising professor, was a continual source of encouragement to me and made a significant contribution to the completion of the thesis. Robert E. Longacre brought me into the field of discourse grammar and shared many of his insights with me. Jerold A. Edmondson made valuable comments on various drafts of the thesis.

The people of Kadaclan shared their lives with me, teaching me their language. Village officials, school teachers, and our neighbors helped me in many ways so that I was able to stay on and be one of them. To Abel Maingag, Nadet Tocyap, Elpidia Copasan, Rodita Ateo-an, Jean Diana Yang, and Simeon Joaqin, who stayed with us and worked with us in various projects, I owe much.

Co-workers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics worked together with me in many ways in this project. Gail Loski kindly offered help in keyboarding the thesis into a microcomputer. Kathy Bergman keyed and typeset the present version.

My wife and two children lived with me in Kadaclan and shared much in common with me.

To these I wish to express my gratitude.

Takashi Fukuda

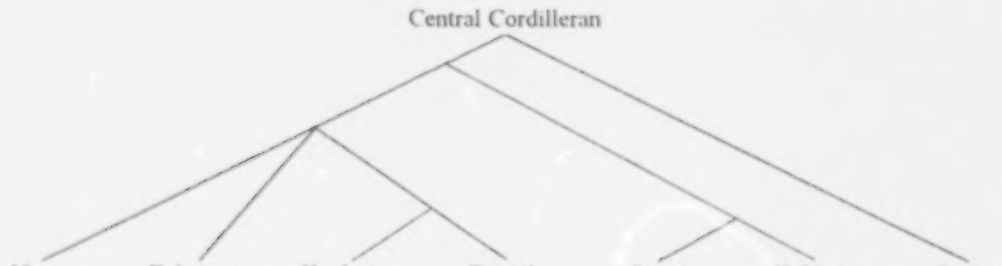
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Act	Actor
At	Attributive
B	Behavioral
BF	Benefactive Focus
Biat	Biattributive
Bire	Bireceptive
Bist	Bistative
Bitr	Bitransitive
C	Consonant
compl	completed aspect
D/def	Definite
E	Expository
emph	emphatic
excl	exclusive
f.s.h.	far from speaker and hearer
gen	genitive
GM	Genitive Marker
incl	inclusive
IF	Instrumental Focus
IM	Inversion Marker
Intr	intransitive
LF	Locative Focus
lk	linker
n.h.	near hearer
n.s.	near speaker
ND/nondef	Nondefinite
NM	Nominative Marker
NP	Noun Phrase
nom	nominative
noncompl	noncompleted aspect
OF	Object Focus
OM	Oblique Marker
pl	plural
prep	preposition
prog	progressive aspect
punc	punctiliar
QP	Quotation Particle
QW	Question Word
Re	Receptive
RQW	Rhetorical Question Word
S	Sentence
Semiat	Semiattributive
Semist	Semistative
Semitr	Semitransitive
St	Stative
SF	Subject Focus
sg	singular
st	stative
Tr	Transitive
Underg	Undergoer
V	Verb; Vowel in CV/CVC

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Language affiliation

Eastern Bontoc is an Austronesian language and a member of the Central Cordilleran family of the northern Philippines. The exact place of Eastern Bontoc, in relation to Central Bontoc (referred to as Bontok in Reid, 1979) and Balangaw (referred to also as Balangao), in the family tree proposed by Reid (1974, 1979), still needs further comparative research (see Figure 1.).



(From Reid, 1979)

FIGURE 1. PROTO CENTRAL CORDILLERAN

The term "Eastern Bontoc" covers five dialects. According to Busenitz (1973), these dialects are spoken in the villages of Kadaclan, Barlig, Lias, Talubin, and Bayyo (see map). The affix *-in-* inserted into each of these village names forms the dialect name; e.g., ***L-in-ias*** denotes the Lias dialect. Geographically Eastern Bontoc is surrounded by Ifugao, Balangao, and Bontoc. Bayyo is next to Banaue Ifugao. Kadaclan is next to Balangao and Batad Ifugao. Talubin is next to Bontoc.

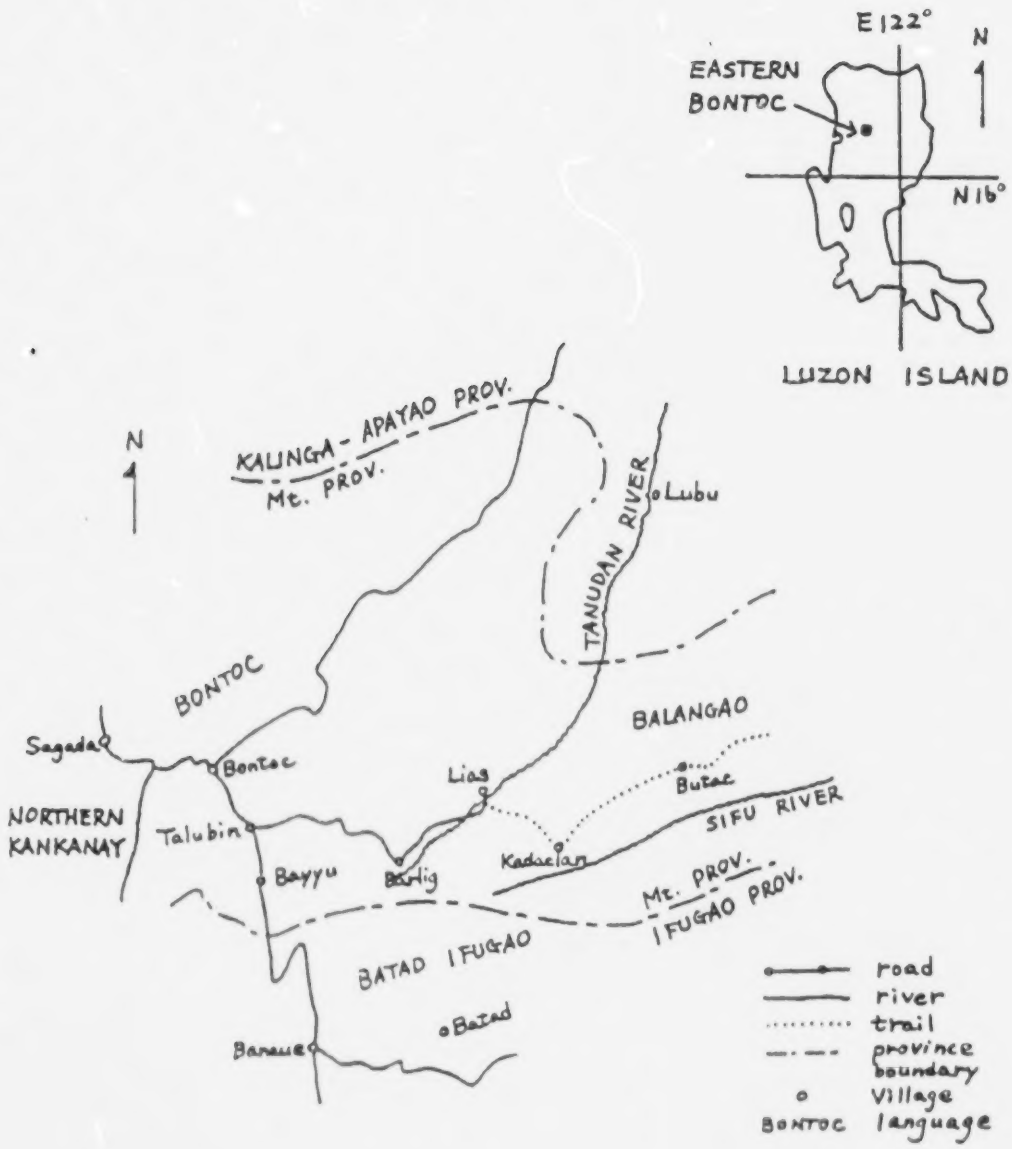
There are approximately 8,000 speakers of Eastern Bontoc. About 2,000 of them work in Baguio or in the mines near Baguio.[1] Each village of the Eastern Bontoc area has a high ratio of intermarriage within its own village, e.g. about 90% of the Kadaclan people marry fellow villagers.[2] This factor doubtless works against the tendency to homogenize across the local varieties. People from different villages speak Ilocano, the lingua franca for the northern Philippines, with each other.

1.2. Language data

Language data used in this study are from the Kadaclan dialect of Eastern Bontoc. I lived in Chupac, a barrio of Kadaclan, intermittently from October 1977 to December 1980. Although I tried to gather pure Kadaclan texts, some influences from neighboring dialects were inevitable, especially in vocabulary. In addition, most Kadaclan men speak Ilocano. Thus, influence from Ilocano is also noticed. The texts were recorded by myself or by Abel Maingag of Kadaclan village. These texts were transcribed from tapes. Some other texts were spoken to a group of Kadaclan people by a Kadaclan speaker in my presence. Others were spoken directly to me. Still other texts were recorded by Mr. Maingag, in which case a Kadaclan speaker

[1]Busenitz (1973) gives the census report of the Bureau of Census and Statistics, Bontoc, Mountain Province for Eastern Bontoc villages. The 1970 census figures show 6,212 for the five villages.

[2]90% is arrived at by roughly counting the non-Kadaclan people reported married to Kadaclan people in Kadaclan genealogical research.



MAP. EASTERN BONTOC AREA
(From Shetler [1976])

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

spoke to a group of Kadaclan people without the presence of an outsider. Some narrative texts were written down by Mr. Maingag and other Kadaclan people.

1.3. Previous studies

1.3.1. Bontoc and neighboring languages

At the turn of the century, the Bontoc area was not fully controlled by the Spanish government. During the American administration of the Philippines the area was gradually opened and a series of grammatical descriptions and vocabularies began to appear soon after: e.g. Clapp (1904), Jenks (1905), Seidenadel (1909), and Waterman (1913). These works applied traditional grammatical categories such as gerund and participle to Bontoc.

More recently Reid (1970, 1971, and 1974) has contributed much to the study of Bontoc. His 1970 monograph, *Central Bontoc: sentence, paragraph, and discourse,* is a tagmemic approach to structures at and above the sentence level. The sentence is viewed as having sentence periphery and nucleus, and sentence types are classified according to the structure of the sentence nuclei. Hortatory, Coordinate Hortatory, Explanatory, Narrative, Procedural, Project, and Dialogue paragraph types are recognized. Hortatory, Narrative, Procedural, and Activity discourse types are classified with some notes on person orientation, tense orientation, composition-constituency analysis, and linkage.

Benn (1979) analyzes one Central Bontoc hortatory text in depth. The notion of *justification theme,* the communicator's efforts in establishing himself as an authority on the topic of his advice, is well explicated. Macabuhay and Goschnick (1979) describe procedural discourse in Central Bontoc.[3] The phonology of the Barlig dialect of Eastern Bontoc is described in Ohlson (no date a), the morphophonemics in Ohlson and Ohlson (1976), and the verbal clause in Ohlson (no date b).[4] Preliminary discourse study of the Kadaclan dialect is reported in Fukuda (1980).

For Balangao, Shetler (1976) describes lower level grammar. Porter (1979) describes the morphology of Northern Kankanay, spoken directly west of the Eastern Bontoc language area. Batad Ifugao independent clause types are described by Newell (1964).

1.3.2. Philippine languages

Many monographs and articles have been published on Philippine languages. For the purpose of this study, I limit discussion to discourse studies of Philippine languages and to the study of Tagalog.

In discourse study, to my knowledge, the first volume published was *Philippine languages: discourse, paragraph, and sentence structure* (Longacre, 1968), the outcome of Longacre's 1967-68 workshop on discourse study. Studies of a number of languages are reported on in this volume, including Central Bontoc. This was one of the early attempts to study seriously structures beyond the sentence level in Philippine languages. A decade later, Walrod's (1979) monograph on discourse structure in Ga'dang appeared.[5] It describes narrative, expository, and procedural discourses and relates specific sentence types to different discourse genres.

A number of articles on discourse study have appeared in *Studies in Philippine Linguistics.* Their topics are diversified: Hale and Gieser (1977) on explanatory discourse in Guinaang Kalinga, Allison (1977) on Southern Samal text, Porter and Hale (1977) on focus ranking in Tboli, Barlaan (1977) on fact and fiction in Isneg, Forfia (1979) on tense in Ga'dang narrative, D. Persons (1979) on cohesive and coordinating conjunctions in Bolinao narrative, Titrud (1979) on participant identification in Caluyanen, G. Persons (1979) on cohesion by means of participant identification in Bolinao narrative, and Errington (1979) on discourse types and tense patterns in Cotabato Manobo. The emphasis of these articles is almost exclusively on narrative discourse.

---

[3]Reid, Benn, and Macabuhay and Goschnick worked on different dialects of Central Bontoc: Guinaang, Tocokan, and Sadanga, respectively.

[4]Ohlson used the term 'Southern' for what I call Eastern; the two terms refer to the same language.

[5]Ga'dang is located in the same valley with Kadaclan and Balangao and down river to Balangao.

In Tagalog studies, Bloomfield (1917) and Blake (1925) are the two classics. More recently there have been efforts to describe Tagalog using different theoretical models. Examples are Wolfenden (1961), Ramos (1971, 1974), Schachter and Otanes (1972), and Llamzon (1976).

Many linguists have dealt specifically with verb structure and in particular verb affixation, which has a bearing on focus and topic phenomena of the Tagalog clause. Monograph-length treatments of focus and topic include Ramos (1974) and De Guzman (1978). Mintz's (1973) dissertation treats this topic for another major language, Bikol. Articles dealing with the notion of topic, focus, and subject include Naylor (1973), Li and Thompson (1976), Schachter (1976), Schwartz (1976), and Thomas (1977).

1.4. Scope and limitation of this study

The goals of this study are to describe the lower level morphosyntactic structures of Eastern Bontoc and the higher level structures of behavioral and expository discourses. The description of lower level morphosyntactic structures provides background for the second goal. It is also considered appropriate to describe more than what is needed for the second goal, since there has been no published work on Eastern Bontoc grammar. Behavioral and expository discourse genres have not been frequently studied in Philippine languages, or for that matter in discourse studies generally. Preliminary analyses of narrative and procedural discourses have been done, and will be referred to in this study to contrast narrative and procedural with behavioral and expository discourses. This study is also limited to morphosyntactic phenomena; no attempt is made to describe the phonology in detail although a brief sketch is given in sections 1.5. and 1.6.

1.5. Segmental phonology

In this section a brief statement of the segmental phonology is given as background information. The description follows basically Ohlson (no date a).

Eastern Bontoc has two syllable types: CV and CVC. Examples are ***pa.yak*** 'feather', ***no.wang*** 'carabao', ***pa.pa*** 'duck', and ***qaw.ni*** 'later'.

Stress is unpredictable, although it usually occurs on the penultimate syllable. There are few contrastive sets: ***'kayyang*** 'blackbird' and ***kay'yang*** 'to throw a spear'.

Consonant phonemes are:

		labial	central	velar	glottal
stops	vd.	b	d	g	
	vl.	p	t	k	q
nasals		m	n	ŋ	
fricatives			s	x	
lateral			l		
semivowels		w	y		

Voiced stops have voiceless variants in syllable-initial position, i.e. before a vowel:

(1) $\begin{bmatrix} b \\ d \\ g \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} f \\ tš \\ k^h \end{bmatrix} / ___V$

Examples:

/boyoy/	[foyoy]	'boil'
/danom/	[tšanom]	'water'
/gama/	[k^hama]	'bed'

In the Kadaclan and Barlig dialects, the following rule applies after rule (1).

(2) [f] → [f^y] / ___ $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -high \end{bmatrix}$

Example:

/baboy/	[f^yafoy]	'pig'

In the Barlig dialect, the following rule applies after rule (1).

(3) [k^h] → [k^y] / ___ $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -high \end{bmatrix}$

Example:

/gasot/	[k^yasot]	'hundred'

/x/ is a velar fricative and occurs only in a limited number of lexical items, especially in personal pronouns, demonstratives, and case markers; it is written as ***h*** in the practical orthography to conform with usage in other Philippine languages: ***haqon*** 'I', ***heqa*** 'you', ***hiya*** 'he, she, it', ***ahna*** 'here', ***ahchi*** 'there', ***hen*** 'nominative case marker for common noun', ***he*** 'nominative case marker for personal noun'.

/l/ has a variant [ɾ] when it is not contiguous to /i/ or /e/. [ɾ] is a mid central retroflexed vocoid.

Consonant clusters occur word medially when a CVC syllable is followed by a CV or CVC syllable, but do not occur within a syllable.

Vowel phonemes are:

	front	back
high	i	o
low	e	a

/i/ and /e/ contrast in a limited number of lexical items, such as ***lima*** 'hand' and ***lema*** 'five'. (These two could have originated from one lexical item.)

The orthographic symbols for [f^y], [tš], [k^y], [x], [ɾ], [ŋ], and [k^h] are ***fi***, ***ch***, ***ki***,[6] ***h***, ***r***, ***ng***, and ***k***. Word-initial glottal is not written in the practical orthography, but is written in this study when its insertion helps the explanation of phonological and morphophonemic processes. Education in the area has been in English, so literates are used to ***r***, and to ***b***, ***d***, ***g*** as symbols for voiced sounds only in syllable-initial position. For this study I use the practical orthography.

[6]This is for the Barlig dialect.

1.6. Morphophonemics

Ohlson and Ohlson (1976) have an extensive paper on morphophonemics of Eastern Bontoc. Although their paper is based on the Barlig dialect of the language, most of their analysis is applicable to the Kadaclan dialect. When roots undergo affixation morphophonemic changes take place; some personal pronouns also undergo morphophonemic changes; see 3.1.2.1.

The vowel of the first syllable of a root is lost after prefixes except ***mon-*** under the following condition: a root should not have a medial consonant cluster. If a root has the shape CVC.CVC, the deletion of the first vowel results in an unallowable consonant cluster of three. Thus, the shape of a root in which this process of vowel deletion occurs is either CV.CVC or CV.CV.

(4) ***ma-*** + ***sokaw*** = ***maskaw*** 'to be cold'

i- + ***chono*** = ***idno*** 'to work' (cf. ***mon-chono***)

But:

i- + ***koskos*** = ***ikoskos*** 'to rub'

The vowel of the final syllable of a root may be lost with suffixation. The condition is the same as for the vowel deletion of the first syllable: the vowel is not deleted if the result would be an unallowable consonant cluster of three.

(5) ***fiatak*** + ***-on*** = ***fiatkon*** 'to bundle'

fiachang + ***-an*** = ***fiadngan*** 'to help'

But:

katfor + ***-an*** = ***katforan*** 'to discuss'

When roots end in vowels, upon suffixation a consonant is added: /q/ occurs following the low vowel /a/ (no roots end in /e/); a semivowel occurs following a high vowel and agreeing with it in frontness (thus /y/ following /i/ and /w/ following /o/).

(6) ***fiasa*** + ***-ak*** = ***fiasa-qak*** 'I read'

fiali + ***-an*** = ***fiali-yan*** 'to comfort'

When roots start with a glottal stop, upon prefixation the glottal stop is dropped; if the prefix ends in a vowel, /q/, /y/, or /w/ is inserted as described for roots ending in a vowel.

(7) ***i-*** + ***qali*** = ***i-yali*** 'to bring'

kamo + ***-on*** = ***kamo-won*** 'to hurry'

CHAPTER II
THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter the notion of structure beyond the sentence level and how that structure can be viewed is presented, following largely Longacre's (1968, 1981a, 1981b, 1983) model of discourse grammar, although I have modified his theory in some points. Discourse genres are classified into four major types according to Longacre's two basic parameters. Focus, topic, and subject in Philippine languages are also discussed.

2.1. Theoretical perspectives on discourse-level structure

In 1964, Pike wrote

> beyond the sentence lie grammatical structures available to linguistic analysis, describable by technical procedures, and usable by the author for the generation of the literary works through which he reports to us his observations (1964:129).

One of the basic principles in tagmemics is "a language unit is a form-meaning composite" (Pike and Pike, 1982:4). This principle is developed with regard to grammar in terms of the *tagmeme* with four features: *slot, class, role,* and *cohesion*. Pike applies this notion to all the grammatical levels, even to paragraph and monologue.

> The handling of constituents of paragraphs parallels that of lower levels of structure, with the development of formulas and classes of fillers and roles for margins and nuclei (Pike and Pike, 1982:237).

Each level has *premargin tagmeme, nucleus tagmeme,* and *postmargin tagmeme*. He sees structure in higher levels analogous to the structures in lower levels. We need to ask, however, whether such a rigorous application of the tagmeme concept to higher levels does not produce an unnecessarily cumbersome classification of each level.

Longacre (1983), applying some of the basic principles of tagmemics to discourse level study, has developed a somewhat different sort of discourse grammar. He too holds to the notion of *levels* in hierarchy. For the grammatical hierarchy, the following levels are posited: *morpheme, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph,* and *discourse*. For Longacre the tagmeme is primarily a function-set correlation (Longacre, 1983:275). Thus he seems to be less interested in rigorously applying a multi-featured tagmemic concept to higher levels of the grammatical hierarchy.

Communication does not take place in a vacuum; rather, the communication situation is complex, involving many kinds of information. Fleming (1978), following a stratificational model, includes such features as Culture, Language, Social setting, Social relationships, Referential realm (incidents, referents, time, place), Communicator (intent, attitudes, beliefs, interest), Audience (intent, attitudes, beliefs, interest), and Communication (encode, decode). For example, social relationships are an important factor in effective communication; who speaks to whom and what are the social relationships between the communicator and audience affect phonological, grammatical, and lexical choice in the whole discourse. The same thing can be said of the communicator's intent, world view, and any other of the features Fleming mentions. Much of recent sociolinguistic research has been concerned with identifying some of the correlations between social characteristics of speakers and linguistic features of their speech (cf., for example, Trudgill, 1974).

The speaker monitors what he or she is communicating and how his or her mesage is processed by the hearer, and modifies his subsequent text accordingly. For example, if the speaker thinks that the message is not understood by a hearer, the speaker tries to give an example to make the point clear, or states the point again in paraphrase.

This area is included by Pike and Pike in their referential hierarchy. They state:

> Study of the referential hierarchy analyzes the content of what the speaker "wants to say" about some unit, element, situation, action; or speaker or hearer attitude, emotion, presupposition,

> evaluation, or belief that is communicated (intentionally or unintentionally) by the speaker about that statement or content of that statement, or that is elicited from the hearer about that statement (1982:321).

The presence of so many factors in the communication situation affecting the form of text is exactly the reason for the need for exegesis that takes account of these factors as well as the formal features of a text. It is important to know, for example, who wrote a letter, to whom it was written, what was the purpose of writing, what was the situation, and so on. It is true of any text in any culture, in any time, in any place, and in any language. It is inevitable that we need help from other disciplines, such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive studies, and others. But one thing is clear: we cannot analyze a text in itself. We need to bring the entire communication situation into the study of discourse.

Longacre's (1983) model of discourse recognizes a distinction between notional (deep) and surface structures, the two being poles of a continuum, on each level of the grammatical hierarchy. The discourse level has notional discourse types and surface discourse types. Surface structure levels are: *stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph,* and *discourse*. Notional counterparts for these are: *derivation, inflection, concretion, predication, proposition, repartee,* and *plot*, although the notional and surface structure levels are not in a one-to-one relation.

The grammatical levels I posit for Eastern Bontoc are: *morpheme, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph,* and *discourse*. Morpheme includes such units as root and affix. Although a unit in any level is normally a constituent of a unit one level higher, *recursion, backlooping* and *levelskipping* are possible (Longacre, 1983:280). Recursion involves a unit occurring within a unit on the same level. Backlooping involves a unit occurring within a unit lower than the original level. Levelskipping involves a unit occuring within a unit two or more levels higher than the original level.

Discourse is made up of paragraphs, and as Grimes (1975) mentions, the degree of complexity of such units affects the structure of the discourse. A discourse, like lower level structures, is structured so as to gain maximum effectiveness in carrying out the communicator's intention.

Longacre (1981a, 1981b) suggests three main areas of analysis of a text: its *macrostructure*, its *texture* (profile and spectrum), and its *constituency structure*. *Macrostructure* is the overall conception of the text. It is the point of a discourse. *Profile* has to do with mounting and declining tension within a discourse. Discourse is not developed "flat"; rather it has an uphill curve, peak, and downhill curve. *Spectrum* has to do with the kinds of information in the discourse. Some information is more foregrounded than other information.

Types of information in discourse can be divided into *foregrounded event-line* and *supportive material*. Longacre's claim, however, is that foregrounded event-line and supportive material are not a simple dichotomy, but rather are located on a continuum. This continuum goes from the most powerful and dynamic information to the least powerful and more static information, and correlates with different kinds of verb forms, such as tense, aspect, mode, and voice, and some other grammatical devices. The above scale can also be termed *transitivity* (related to, but different from, that of Hopper and Thompson, 1980; see 4.4.). In this study I deal with spectrum (transitivity), but not with profile.

The third area of text analysis is constituent structure. Among the important questions are: what are the constituent parts of a discourse, how are they related to each other, what kind of units are the constituents, how are they demarcated from each other, and what types of sentences or other units are used in different kinds of constituents.

2.2. Classification of discourse genres

Classification of discourse genres is one of the main features of discourse analysis.

I am here mainly concerned with monologue (single-source) discourse, in which only one communicator is involved in the communication act. Dialogue, by contrast, is a communication event involving two or more communicators. The units of dialogue are: *utterance, exchange, dialogue paragraph,* and *dialogue*. Dialogue and monologue are two autonomous structures, but dialogue can include monologue and monologue can include dialogue (Longacre, 1983:43).

As mentioned in 2.1., a distinction between the deep (notional) structure and the surface structure of a discourse is recognized. One can use a story (surface structure narrative) to make a hortatory point (deep

structure behavioral discourse); this kind of skewing between deep structures and surface structures occurs frequently in natural language. Deep structures of discourse "relate more clearly to the overall purpose of the discourse, while surface structures have to do more with a discourse's formal characteristics" (Longacre, 1983:3).

Why do we need to classify discourses? We have different kinds of monologues. We unconsciously make use of varieties of discourses to accomplish our communication intentions. But they are not infinite in number. Thus we classify them, not to satisfy our human nature of classifying the universe around us, but to enable us to express generalizations about discourse structures.

Irwin (1980) distinguishes rhetorical modes (genres) and discourse types. His usage of discourse types is to denote subtypes of each genre. I use *genre* to denote the basic types of discourse, and *subtype* to refer to the secondary classification of discourse within each basic genre.

Longacre (1983:3) posits two basic parameters, *contingent temporal succession* and *agent orientation,* for notional discourse structure. His claim is that we can classify all posible discourses according to these parameters.

> Contingent temporal succession . . . refers to a framework of temporal succession in which some (often most) of the events or doings are contingent on previous events or doings. Agent orientation refers to orientation towards agents (cf. Chapter 5) with at least a partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse (Longacre, 1983:3).

If a discourse is plus contingent temporal succession, events are contingent on previous events. If a discourse is minus contingent temporal succession, events are linked rather by some logical or other nontemporal linkage. If it is plus agent orientation discourse, identification of a particular agent or agents is vital to the discourse. If it is minus agent orientation, Forster (1977) suggests they could be patient, goal or predicate orientation.

Agent orientation can be more concretely represented as participant reference in the surface structure. Formal devices of chronological linkage constitute the surface structure counterpart of the contingent temporal succession parameter (Longacre, 1983:7).

These two basic parameters, then, give us four basic discourse genres:

	+Agent orientation	–Agent orientation
+Contingent temporal succession	Narrative	Procedural
–Contingent temporal succession	Behavioral	Expository

FIGURE 2. CLASSIFICATION OF DISCOURSE GENRES
(after Longacre 1983:5)

Narrative discourse genre is characterized by plus contingent temporal succession and plus agent orientation. In Eastern Bontoc this includes traditional narratives, first person stories, stories about others, and origin stories of a village, clan, and so on. Procedural discourse genre is also plus contingent temporal succession, but minus agent orientation. This is how to do it, how it was done, and how it takes place. The steps of a procedure are ordered and attention is on what is done or made, not on who (agent) does it. Behavioral discourse is plus agent orientation, but minus contingent temporal succession. Behavioral discourse includes exhortation, rebuke, and praise. Expository discourse genre is minus contingent temporal succession and minus agent orientation. This discourse genre does not share either of the two major parameters with narrative and in this sense is the extreme opposite of narrative.

Forster (1977) and Longacre (1983) posit secondary parameters which would further classify each discourse genre into subtypes. One of them is *projection,* which Longacre defines thus: "Projection has to do with a situation or action which is contemplated, enjoined, or anticipated but not realized" (Longacre, 1983:4). Forster subclassifies each genre into plus projection and minus projection and charts the results as follows (1977:5):

Genre	−projection	+ projection
Narrative	(usual concept of) Narrative	Prophecy/Plans
Procedural	Customs	(usual concept of) Procedural
Behavioral	Eulogy/Praise/Rebuke	(usual concept of) Hortatory
Expository	Explanatory	Orientation/Budget

FIGURE 3. SUBCLASSIFICATION OF DISCOURSE GENRES

I use *explanatory* for expository which is minus projection. The usual concept of narrative and expository is minus projection and the usual concept of procedural and behavioral is plus projection.

The other secondary parameter is *tension*. "Tension is the struggle for dominance in a discourse between two opposing participants or ideas" (Forster, 1977:6). As Longacre (1983:5-6) points out, this parameter fits best with narrative, but other genres can also be plus/minus tension.

Narrative and procedural discourse genres are not discussed in this study, but the other two genres, behavioral and expository, are treated and secondary parameters are applied to subclassify them.

2.3. Focus, topic, and subject and higher levels of structure

"Lower level" here means the sentence and below; "higher level" means beyond the sentence. In the world we live in, there is nothing that is completely independent; everything exists in relation to other things. Language is no exception. One piece of evidence for this claim are the Eastern Bontoc verbal affixes and their relation to noun phrases.

(8) a. *mon-anap-ak ah aso.*
SF-look for-I OM dog 'I look for a dog.'

b. *anap-ok hen aso.*
look for-OF.I NM dog 'I look for the dog.'

The vebal affix in (8a) is ***mon-*** which indicates the so-called *actor focus* and the verbal affix in (8b) is ***-on*** which indicates *goal focus*.[7] In (8b) the noun phrase is said to be in focus, but then why is it that it gets focused? What are the differences between (8a) and (8b)? How does ***aso*** 'dog' function in each clause? When is the actor focused? These questions need to be answered by referring to higher levels of structure (see sections 4.5.5. and 5.5.6.).

In most Philippine languages, there is a unique system of marking noun phrases. There has been considerable discussion on whether 'Focus', 'Topic' or 'Subject' best characterizes the system. See, for example, McKaughan (1958), Wolfenden (1961), Ramos (1974), Li and Thompson (1976), Schwartz (1976), Schachter (1976), and Mirikitani (1972). The reason I discuss this system here is that an understanding of its structure is vital to the understanding of discourse structures in Philippine languages including Eastern Bontoc. In my opinion, however, the system is best understood by reference to the relationship of verbs and clauses to the higher level units in which they occur, including the notional structure of their respective discourses.

This system was first described by Bloomfield (1917), who referred to it as *active* and *passive voices* of verbal forms. His use of passive corresponds to the so-called goal-focus construction. McKaughan (1958) also used *voice* to describe the Maranao verb system. Wolfenden (1961) puts a different meaning to the term *voice* by saying there are five voice-modes: subjective, objective, locative, implicative, and aptative in

[7]I use subject focus and object focus for actor focus and goal focus, respectively. See 3.1.5.2.

Tagalog. He also mentions that ***an***g and ***si*** denote the topic of a predication; ***ang*** (or ***si***) denotes that the noun phrase of which it is a part is the topic of a clause.[8] Shetler (1976) describes Balangao by applying the notion of *focus* to explain the correlation of verb affixes and topic noun phrases. According to Ramos (1974) there are others who employ this same notion, e.g. Healey, Pike, Capell, and Bowen.

Schachter and Otanes (1972:69) consider the basic sentence as made up of Predicate and Topic. They define focus as "the feature of a verbal predicate that determines the semantic relationship between a predicate verb and its topic."

Ramos (1974) approaches this structure from a case grammar viewpoint. (See also Walrod, 1976.) For her, subject is the relevant surface structure category: "When a complement is chosen as subject, ***ang*** (or ***si*** if what follows is a proper noun) replaces the case-marking particles" (Ramos, 1974:117). She posits agent and other cases for deep structure and subject for surface structure. Thus she has agent as subject, object as subject, directional as subject, instrumental as subject, and benefactive as subject. These correspond to Wolfenden's five voice-modes.

Schwartz (1976) argues for Ilocano that focus refers to subject. Schachter (1976), however, argues against the notion of subject for Philippine languages. He distinguishes two properties of subject, *reference-related* properties and *role-related* properties, and defines them as follows:

> the reference-related properties are those which, in Philippine languages, are associated with the topic . . . . The role-related properties of subjects are those which, in Philippine languages, are associated with the actor (Schachter, 1976:514).

His point is that topic and the actor do not quite fit with properties of subject and in the Philippine languages there is no single syntactic category that corresponds to the category of subject in other languages.

Mirikitani wrote a generative grammar of Kapampangan, one of the major languages, and treats subject as follows: "for each S select one of the PP's (or the only PP) which follows the VP, dominated by the PredP, as subject of the sentence and mark it [+Su]" (Mirikitani, 1972:114). She is one of the few who mention the need of discourse considerations for the proper treatment of lower levels. She says that

> the choice of a particular complement PP as subject for a given utterance is governed by situational and syntactic considerations. The situational determinants are the contexts of conversation and discourse (Mirikitani, 1972:114-5).

Another who takes discourse considerations into account in discussing subject vs. topic is Naylor (1973). She tries to connect this system of verbal affixes with the distinction between new and old information. The verb is always new information and the focused noun phrase is old information.

It is my opinion that in order to better understand the structure of the verb-affix system and noun phrase marking we need to get insights from beyond the sentence level. Hopper and Thompson give excellent support for this claim. They say "high transitivity is correlated with foregrounding, and low transitivity with backgrounding" (Hopper and Thompson, 1980:251). They posit ten parameters which "have different degrees of effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another" (Hopper and Thompson, 1980:252). They cite Bloomfield's Tagalog text and conclude that

> the definite O construction (passive, goal-topic) is strongly correlated with foregrounding. In foregrounding, it is rare to find any other kind of focus in multiparticipant clauses; in backgrounding, whenever the verb is realis and perfective, the goal-topic construction is avoided (Hopper and Thompson, 1980:289).

It seems to me that what they say is that the goal-topic construction serves as another parameter of transitivity, signaling foregrounding in a discourse. Thus we cannot analyze the lower levels without reference to the higher levels.

---

[8] ***Si*** is used with personal names and has the same function as ***ang*** which is used with common nouns.

CHAPTER III
STRUCTURE FROM WORD TO SENTENCE LEVEL

3.1. Word formation and classes

I posit *morpheme, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph,* and *discourse* in the Eastern Bontoc grammatical hierarchy. Morpheme is the minimum grammatical level. There are two kinds of morphemes: *affixal* and *root* morphemes. Affixal morphemes are either inflectional or derivational. (The inflectional morpheme ***mon-*** is simultaneously derivational. See 3.1.5.1.)
Examples:

(9)	root morpheme	***qapoy***	'fire'
	inflectional morpheme	***mon-***	'to do'
		mon-qapoy	'to warm oneself by fire'
	derivational morpheme	***-an***	'place'
		mon-qapoy-an	'a place for warming oneself by fire'

A word can be a root morpheme alone, or a root morpheme with one or more affixes.

In Eastern Bontoc seven classes of words are posited: *nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, verbs, adverbs,* and *particles.*

3.1.1. Nouns

Nouns can be noun roots or nouns derived by affixation from other words. Unlike verbs and adjectives, most nouns do not take inflectional affixes.

A limited number of nouns have plural forms. One group is kinship terms, for most of which the plural is formed by infixing ***-an-*** after the first consonant of the root (cf. 23 below).

(10)	*singular*	*plural*	*gloss*
	chakchakor	ch-an-akchakor	'parents'
	qenqena	q-an-enqena	'old women'
	qamqama	q-an-amqama	'old men'

The following words, however, reduplicate the initial glottal stop plus vowel, and in two cases also insert a glottal stop before the last vowel.

(11)	qenaqochi	qe-qenaqochi	'young siblings'
	qanak	qa-qan-q-ak	'children'
	qapo	qa-qap-q-o	'grandparents'

Plurals of the second group of nouns are formed by reduplication of the first CVC. These nouns seem to denote a human being's inner ability.

(12)	poso	pos-poso	'hearts'
	nomnom	nom-nomon	'minds'

The universally quantified plural is formed by prefixing ***ka-*** and reduplicating the first syllable plus the initial CV of the second syllable.

(13) qaso 'dog' ka-qaso-qaso 'every dog'
fiaroy[9] 'house' ka-fiaro-fiaroy 'every house'
tako 'person' ka-tako-tako 'every people'

There are a number of processes for deriving nouns:

To form the *noun of quality*, the prefix ***ka-*** and the demonstrative suffix ***-na*** (3.1.2.2.) are added to adjectives.

(14) qancho 'long' ka-qancho-na 'length'
titqiwa 'true' ka-titqiwa-na 'truth'

To form a *locative noun*, ***-an*** is suffixed to verbs.

(15) omattay 'to defecate' omattay-an 'place of defecating'
montobrak 'to wash clothes' montobrak-an 'place of washing clothes'

The examples in (15) denote a temporary place. There are two other processes for deriving locative nouns to denote a more permanent place. In the first of these, which applies to noun roots, the first CV is reduplicated, the first consonant of the second syllable is lengthened, and the suffix ***-an*** is added. (In 16a, the second consonant is already long.)

(16) a. qattay 'feces' qa-qattay-an 'toilet'
b. qapoy 'fire' qa-qappoy-an 'fireplace'

In the second, also applicable to verb roots, the first CV of the root is reduplicated, ***-an*** is suffixed and the verbal prefix ***mon-*** is added (cf. 3.1.5.).

(17) fiantay 'to guard' mon-fia-fiantay-an 'guard house'

To indicate *ownership* ***neng-*** is prefixed to a noun root.

(18) fiaroy 'house' neng-fiaroy 'owner of a house'
fiafoy 'pig' neng-fiafoy 'owner of a pig'

The prefix ***i-*** with the name of a place denotes the *people from that place*.

(19) i-Lias 'Lias people'
i-Chupac 'Chupac people'

To form the *diminutive*, if the first syllable of the root ends in a vowel, the initial consonant of the second syllable is added to the coda of the first syllable, then the first syllable is reduplicated. Finally the infix ***-in-*** is added after the initial consonant. At the coda of the first and second syllables the voiced morphophonemic counterparts (20a) and voiced allophones of stops (20b) appear.

(20) a. tako 'person' t-in-agtagko 'doll, statue'
b. fiafoy 'pig' f-in-abfiabfoy 'toy pig'

But if the first syllable of the root is CVC, the first CV of the root is reduplicated, glottal stop is added after the resulting initial CVC, and then the infix ***-in-*** is added after the initial consonant.

(21) partog 'gun' p-in-ap-qartog 'toy gun'
payyew 'field' p-in-ap-qayyew 'toy field'

[9]See 1.5. [fʸ] is considered to be one unit but is written as ***fi***.

To denote a *kinship relationship* ***hin*** is prefixed (see 3.1.4.).

(22)	qasawa	'spouse'	hin-qasawa	'married couple'
	qaki	'sibling'	hin-qaki	'relationship of brother and sister'

For the plural forms ***-an-*** is infixed (cf. 10 above).

(23)	qama	'father'	hin-qama	'relationship of father and child'
			hin-q-an-amqa	'relationship of father and children'

The infix ***-in-*** denotes a *characteristic of a thing* made in the place denoted by a noun root (the infix has an optional variant ***-en-*** after a nonpalatalized consonant). In an extended sense, this denotes a local dialect denoted by a place name (cf. 1.1.).

(24)	Kachakran	'Kadaclan'	k-en-achakran	'Kadaclan made, Kadaclan dialect'
	Fialig	'Barlig'	f-in-alig	'Barlig made, Barlig dialect'
	tabra	'a piece of board'	t-in-abra	'made of wood'

The prefix ***pang-*** with a common noun denotes a corresponding *whole group of people* (root-initial glottal stop is dropped out).

(25)	fiaroy	'house'	pang-fiaroy	'whole household'
	qapo	'grandfather'	pang-apo	'whole clan'

The prefix ***kahi-*** denotes the *season* for what is denoted by the root.

(26)	tonod	'planting'	kahi-tonod	'time for planting'

3.1.2. Pronouns

3.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

Pronouns form sets according to case: Nominative, Genitive, and Oblique. Contrastive categories within each set are singular vs. plural, and 1st, 1st + 2nd (inclusive), 2nd, and 3rd persons.

(27)

	Nominative		Genitive		Oblique
	Full	Minimum	Post-nominal	Pre-nominal	
sg. 1	haqon	-ak	ko/-k	nok	kan haqon
1+2 (incl)	chita	ta	ta	noyta	kan chita
2	heqa	ka	mo/-m	nom	kan heqa
3	hiya	Ø	na	noyna	kan hiya
pl. 1	chakami	kami	mi	noymi	kan chakami
1+2 (incl)	chitako	tako	tako	noytako	kan chitako
2	chakayo	kayo	yo	noyyo	kan chakayo
3	chicha	cha	cha	noycha	kan chicha

Moreover, there are two forms of the nominative: *full* and *minimum*. The full form is used in sentence-initial position.

(28) *heqa hen om-oy.*
you NM SF-go
'You are the one who will go.'

The minimum form is used after a verb to mark the subject of the verb if the verb is marked for subject focus.

(29) *om-oy ka ah oswelaqan.*
SF-go you OM school
'You go to school.'

The genitive case likewise has two forms: *postnominal* (29) and *prenominal* (30). Genitive is used to denote *possessive, kinship, partitive,* and *depiction.*

(30) *hetona hen kawad ko.*
this NM place my
'This is my place.'

(31) *hetona nok pensal.*
this my pencil
'This is my pencil.'

Nok is a contracted form of ***hen oy ko.*** This latter variant can be used in its full form. ***Hen*** is the nominative case marker (cf. 3.1.7.). ***Oy*** is homophonous with the verb root meaning 'to go', but I am not sure of the function of the morpheme ***oy*** here. ***Hen oy ko*** can also be contracted to ***hen ok***. The nominative case marker precedes the nominal; thus ***hen oy ko, hen ok,*** and ***nok*** are prenominal.

The postnominal genitive pronoun is also used to denote the subject in nonsubject focus constructions, i.e. when focus is on anything but the subject of the clause.

(32) *i-chat ko hen choros na.*
OF-give I(gen) NM bolo his
'I give him the bolo.'

The possessive idea is also expressed by ***kowa*** 'possession' plus the genitive case pronoun. This form occurs in clause-initial position as a separate clause constituent.

(33) *kowa-mi hen tenapy.*
possession-our NM cookie
'The cookies are ours.'

First person singular and second person singular have phonological variants for genitive case. When ***ko*** and ***mo*** follow words which end in vowels, they appear as ***-k*** (34a) and ***-m***. When third person singular ***na*** follows a morpheme ending in ***-n***, the morpheme final ***-n*** is deleted. Verb suffix ***-on*** or ***-an*** plus ***ko*** or ***mo*** are contracted to ***-ok*** (34b) and ***-om,*** or ***-ak*** and ***-am.***

(34) a. *i-koto-k sa.*
OF-delouse-I that
'I delouse that.'

b. *chosa-ok sa.*
punish-OF.I that
'I punish that.'

c. *fiasa-ona qawni.*
read-OF.he later
'He will read it later.'

The oblique case is used for object. It is formed by the sequence of ***kan,*** oblique case marker, plus the nominative case full pronoun.

(35) *t-chat ko hen tenapay kan hiya.*
OF-give I NM cookie OM him
'I give him a cookie.'

There are *combined* forms of pronouns as well. When the actor is third person plural, it is combined with pronouns in oblique case; subject and object are combined. Yet all except one of these (see ***cha-ka*** in 38) could be interpreted as ordinary oblique pronoun with third person plural nominative as zero.

Sentence not using combined form:

(36) *chaqan cha enayakan kan chakayo.*
not yet they call OM you(pl)
'They have not yet called you.'

Sentence using the combined form:

(37) *chaqan cha-kayo enayakan.*
not yet they-you call
'They have not yet called you.'

Other forms are as follows:

(38) cha-ka 'they-you(sg)'
chi-ta 'they-us(incl sg)'
cha-kami 'they-us(excl)'

Another contracted pronoun joins first person singular and second person singular and plural, and focus is on the thing that is asked for.

Sentence without combined form (genitive case pronouns ***mo (m)*** and ***yo*** are used for subject, since the clause is object focus, cf. 3.3.2.):

(39) *ett-am kan haqon.*
give-OF.you(sg) OM me
'You(sg) give it to *me*.'

ett-an-yo kan haqon.
give-OF-you(pl) OM me
'You(pl) give it to me.'

Sentence with combined form ('you' is either singular or plural; ***-ak*** is affixed to subject focus verbs, but here it is affixed to object focus verb):

(40) *ett-an-ak*
give-OF-(you.sg or pl)-me
'You(sg or pl) give *it* to me.'

3.1.2.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns, like personal pronouns, have nominative, genitive, and oblique cases, singular and plural number. They distinguish three deictic positions: *near speaker* (n.s.), *near hearer* (n.h.), and *far from speaker and hearer* (f.s.h.).

(41)

		Nominative		Genitive	Oblique
		Full	Minimum		personal/nonpersonal
sg	n.s.	hetona	na	anna	kan hena/kan tona
	n.h.	hetosa	sa	ansa	kan hesa/kan tosa
	f.s.h.	hetochi (hetodqi)	chi	anchi	kan hechi (kan hidqi) /kan tochi (kan todqi)
pl	n.s.	chatona	chana	tona	kan cha kan hesa/ kan chatona
	n.h.	chatosa	chasa	tosa	kan cha kan hesa/ kan chatosa
	f.s.h.	chatochi (chatodqi)	chachi	tochi	kan cha kan hechi/ kan chatochi (kan chatodqi)

As with personal pronouns (3.1.2.1.), the full form of the nominative is used in sentence-initial position.[10]

(42) *hetona hen laych-ok.*
this NM like-OF.I
'This is what I like.'

The minimum form of the nominative is used after the predicate.

(43) *laych-ok na.*
like-OF.I this
'I like this.'

The genitive case is in postnominal position.

(44) *ammay hen chanom anna.*
good NM water this
'This water is good.'

The oblique case ***kan hena*** series refers to persons, and the ***kan tona*** series refers to places, times, and other nonpersonal referents, such as animals.

(45) *ett-am kan hena.*
give-OF.you OM this person
'You give it to this person.'

ett-am kan tona.
give-OF.you OM this place
'You give it to this place.'

As with the personal pronouns, ***kan*** of the oblique case demonstrative can be considered the oblique case marker. Both series of oblique case demonstrative pronouns can be in sentence-initial position.

(46) *kan tona hen enayakan cha.*
OM this place NM call they
'It was to this place that they called people.'

[10]Singular forms are ***he*** 'case marker' plus ***tona,*** etc. Plural forms are ***cha*** 'plural marker' plus ***tona,*** etc.

There are other series of demonstrative pronouns, usually used at the beginning or end of a speech or a text. ***Naqoy*** 'this, here' refers to something near speaker and hearer, and ***chiyoy*** 'that, there' refers to something far from the speaker and hearer. They refer to concrete entities. When there are plural entities, ***cha*** 'they' is placed after them. They do not inflect for case. There are also other forms of demonstrative pronouns. ***Hiya na*** 'this' refers to the text itself at the beginning of it (47), ***hiya sa*** 'that' refers to the text at the end of it when a speaker wants to treat the whole text as relevant to an audience (48), and ***hiya chi*** 'that' refers to the text at the end of it when a speaker wants to treat the whole text as not directly pertaining to speaker or hearer (49). To refer to what the other speaker just said ***hiya sa*** and ***hiya chi*** are used (50). When ***hiya sa*** is used (50a), a speaker refers the idea or thing denoted by it back to an addressee with positive approval. When ***hiya chi*** is used (50b), a speaker refers the idea or thing denoted by it back to an addressee with neutral attitude (cf. ***sa*** as near hearer, and ***chi*** as far from speaker and hearer).

(47) *hiya na hen maqifiaka-k.*
this NM tell-I
'This is what I tell you.'

(48) *hiya sa hen tokon ko.*
that NM advice my
'This is my advice.'

(49) *hiya chi hen infiaka cha.*
that NM told they
'This is what they told.'

(50) a. *hiya sa ngarod.*
that true
'That's right. You do it.'

b. *hiya chi ngarod.*
that true
'That's right. You said it.'

To refer to some object outside the text, ***hana*** is used while a speaker points to it. ***Hana*** can refer to entities near the speaker, near the hearer, or far from the speaker and hearer. The ***hiya na*** series can refer to ideas or propositions in the text; ***hiya na*** is cataphoric, while ***hiya sa*** and ***hiya chi*** are anaphoric.

(51) *hiya na hen lason ay enat cha, tay . . .*
this NM reason lk did they because
'This is the reason of their deed, because . . .'

The ***naqoy*** series can refer to participants anaphorically.

(52) *inm-oy hen chiyoy cha tako*
SF.compl-go NM that they people
'These people went.'

3.1.2.3. Interrogative pronouns and other interrogatives

Interrogative pronouns and other interrogatives in Eastern Bontoc take the sentence-initial position (cf. 3.4.1.).

(53) a.	ngan	'what'	Ngan tosa?	'What is that?'
b.	ngantodqi	'who/what'	Ngantodqi laychom?	'What do you like?'
			Ngantodqi monloto?	'Who is cooking?'

c.	ngachan /ngachana	'name/what'	Ngachan mo? Ngachan tosa?	'What is your name?' 'What is that?'
d.	kaqat	'how many/ how much'	Kaqat kayo? Kaqat sa?	'How many of you are there?' 'How much is that?'
e.	kamana	'how many'	Kamana cha ay sonod mo?	'How many are your brothers?'
f.	nengkowa	'whose'	Nengkowa tosa?	'Whose is that?'
g.	neng	'whose'	Nengpensal tona?	'Whose pencil is this?'
h.	adchi/idchi/ ayodchi	'why'	Adchi toy monqakor kayo?	'Why are you crying?'
i.	choqod	'where'	Choqod ili yo?	'Where is your village?'

If ***ngan*** and ***ngachan*** are followed by demonstrative pronouns, as far as I know there is no difference between them (cf. 53a and c). ***Adchi, idchi,*** and ***ayodchi*** are alternative forms. ***Nengkowa*** is a combination of ***neng*** 'whose' and ***kowa*** 'possession' (cf. 3.1.1.).

3.1.3. Adjectives

A limited number of adjective roots function as adjectives without affixation (for other languages which have a limited set of adjectives, see Dixon, 1977).

(54)
qammay	'good'
laweng	'bad'
qaptek	'short'
qancho	'long'

laweng hen anak na.
bad NM child his
'His child is bad.'

The above unaffixed adjectives can take the verbalizing infix ***-om-,*** signifying inchoative, thus deriving a verb from an adjective root (cf. 3.1.5.1.).

(55) *l-om-aweng hen sakit na.*
SF-become-bad NM sickness his
'His sickness becomes worse.'

There are a number of ways of deriving adjectives:

The first is to prefix ***mon-*** to the adjective roots. Some of the adjective roots, e.g. ***qaklet, qakob,*** and ***lamiqis,*** also occur without ***mon-***. ***Mon-*** on an adjective root signals subject focus. These roots can also take the verbal affix ***om-***.

(56)
mon-qaklet	'sour'
mon-lamiqis	'sweet'
mon-qakob	'stinky'
mon-fofonat	'cloudy'
mon-titifia	'yellow'
mon-ngongotog	'dark'

mon-qaklet hen aket.
SF-sour NM rattan fruit
'Rattan fruit is sour.'

om-aklet *hen* *limpos.*
SF-become sour NM rice wine
'Rice wine becomes sour.'

The prefix ***ma-*** added to verbal roots derives adjectives denoting possibility.[11]

(57)	qinom	'to drink'	ma-qinom	'drinkable'
	kan	'to eat'	ma-kan	'edible'

The prefix ***kagka-*** plus verb root denotes the causation of the extreme state of that root.

(58)	qogyat	'to be afraid'	kagka-qogyat	'very frightful'
	qamrang	'to laugh'	kagka-qamrang	'very laughable'

The prefix ***manang-*** plus reduplication of the first CV of a noun or verb root is an intensifier.

(59)	torong	'to help'	manang-to-torong	'very helpful'
	fiasor	'to sin'	manang-fia-fiasor	'very sinful'
	qasokar	'sugar'	manang-qa-qasokar	'very sugar-addicted'

The prefix ***ka-*** plus a verbal or adjectival root with or without reduplication of the initial syllable of the adjective roots denotes having recently become in a particular condition or state.

(60)	qotoy	'to die'	ka-qotoy	'recently died'
	qanak	'to bear a child'	ka-qanak	'recently born'
	qamma	'to make'	ka-qamma	'recently made'
	qaklet	'sour'	ka-qakqaklet	'recently become sour'

The prefix ***pagka-*** plus reduplication of the first syllable and the first CV of the second syllable of the root yields forms that have an '-ish' or 'property of' sense. The initial glottal stop is deleted.

(61)	qisfo	'urine'	pagka-qisfoisfo	'smell like urine'
	qaso	'dog'	pagka-qasoaso	'smell like dog'
	chitak	'to be red'	pagka-chitachitak	'reddish'

The prefix ***chana-*** with adjective roots denotes 'all'.

(62)	chitak	'red'	chana-chitak	'all red'
	pokaw	'white'	chana-pokaw	'all white'

Adjective pluralization is not common, but adjectives without prefixes can be pluralized by infixing ***-an-*** to the root (cf. 3.1.1. for plural forms of nouns). Plural forms are used with plural nominals.

(63)	qancho	'long (sg)'	q-an-ancho	'long (pl)'
	qaptek	'short (sg)'	q-an-aptek	'short (pl)'

Comparative adjectives can also be pluralized.

(64)	qamqammay	'better (sg)'	q-an-amqammay	'better (pl)'

[11]Adjectival prefixes ***mon-*** 'to do' and ***ma-*** have the same form as verbal noncompleted aspect prefixes (cf. 3.1.5.4.), but they cannot be replaced by ***non-*** and ***na-*** to denote completed aspect.

Adjectives inflect for degree. Comparative adjectives are formed by reduplicating the first CVC of an adjective root.

(65)	qammay	'good'	qam-qammay	'better'
	qancho	'long'	qan-qancho	'longer'
	songel	'unkind'	song-songel	'more unkind'
	tongnin	'cold'	tong-tongnin	'colder'
	monqaklet	'sour'	mon-qak-qaklet	'sourer'
	kaqotoy	'recently died'	ka-qot-qotoy	'more recently died'

(66) *qamqammay hen fokas mi mo hen fokas hena.*
better NM rice our than NM rice here
'Our rice is better than rice here.'

Superlative adjectives are formed by prefixing ***ka-*** and suffixing ***-an***. Adjectives prefixed with ***mon-*** or ***ma-*** lose these prefixes. Other derived adjectives do not have a superlative form.

(67)	qaptek	'short'	ka-qaptek-an	'shortest'
	monqaklet	'sour'	ka-qaklet-an	'most sour'

Adjectives also have two intensive forms: regular and irregular. Regular forms take reduplication of the first two syllables of the root, but only the first CV of the second syllable, even if the second syllable is CVC.

(68)	qaptek	'short'	qapte-qaptek	'very, very short'
	songel	'unkind'	songe-songel	'very, very unkind'

Adjectives with adjectival prefixes retain these prefixes.

(69)	monpaway	'bright'	monpawa-paway	'very, very bright'

Irregular forms involve other reduplication processes and/or suffixes.

(70)	qancho	'long'	qanqanchokalloy	'very, very long'
	chagson	'heavy'	chagsolellek	'very, very heavy'
	qakeyot	'small'	qakqakeyoyot	'very, very small'
	monqaklet	'sour'	monqakletawtaw	'very, very sour'
	monlamiqis	'sweet'	monlamiqisqis	'very, very sweet'

Reduplication of the first CV up to about four times with the suffix ***-an*** can denote great intensity.

(71) so-so-so-songel-an 'very, very unkind'

3.1.4. Numerals

Numerals of Eastern Bontoc are very similar to those in other Philippine languages (see, for example, Ramos, 1971). The system is decimal.

Spanish numbers are also used for time and counting money. English numbers are used for time, money, and page numbers.

Cardinal numbers are:

1	qosa	20	chowan poro
2	chowa	30	toron poro
3	toro	100	hin kasot
4	qopat	101	hin kasot ya osa
5	lema	111	hin kasot ya hin poro ya osa
6	qonom	200	chowan poro
7	pito	300	toron poro
8	waro	1000	hin lifo
9	siyam	1001	hin lifo ya osa
10	hin poro	10000	hin poro ay lifo
11	hin poro ya osa	100000	hin kasot ay lifo

Hin denotes one unit. ***Ya*** is a conjunction 'and', and ***ay*** is a linker (cf. 3.1.7.), here denoting 'times'. So ***hin poro ya osa*** is 11, but ***hin poro ay lifo*** is 10000. ***-n*** attached to ***chowa*** 'two', ***toro*** 'three', etc. occurs after cardinal numbers ending in a vowel.

Ordinal numbers other than 'first' are formed by prefixing ***meka-*** to the cardinal roots. Morphophonemic changes include the loss of the vowel of the first syllable in 'second', 'third', 'fourth', and 'sixth', and metathesis of glottal stop with the consonant which as a result of that loss immediately follows it. (See the distributives below for a similar process.)

1st	posqoy	8th	mekawaro
2nd	mekadwa	9th	mekasiyam
3rd	mekatlo	10th	mekaporo
4th	mekapqat	20th	mekachowan poro
5th	mekalema	100th	mekakasot
6th	mekanqom	1000th	mekalifo
7th	mekapito		

Frequentatives are formed by prefixing ***mami(ng)-/mangi(n)-*** to the ordinal roots, except for 'once'.

once	mamingsan
twice	mamidwa
three times	mamitlo
four times	mangipqat
five times	manginlema
six times	manginqom
seven times	manginpito
ten times	manginporo

Distributives are formed as follows: first reduplicating the first CV of the cardinal root; then deleting the second vowel (except for 'eight', 'nine', and 'ten'); then in the case of 'one', 'four', and 'six' metathesizing the glottal stop with the consonant preceding it; and inserting ***hin*** 'one unit' before it.

one each	hin qosqa
two each	hin chodwa
three each	hin totlo
four each	hin qopqat
five each	hin lelma
six each	hin qonqom
seven each	hin pipto
eight each	hin wawaro
nine each	hin sisiyam
ten each	hin poporo

Grouping numerals. The idea of 'by twos' or 'by threes' is expressed by reduplicating the first CVC of the distributive forms (and then dropping the initial glottal).

one by one	hin osqosqa
by twos	hin chodchodwa
by threes	hin tottotlo

3.1.5. Verbs

Verbs in Eastern Bontoc are stative (3.1.5.3.) and nonstative (3.1.5.1.), and inflect for completed, noncompleted, and other aspects (3.1.5.4.) and for focus (3.1.5.2.).

3.1.5.1. Nonstative verbs

Derived nonstative verbs are formed with the affixes ***-om-***, ***mon-***, and ***mang-***, which also indicate *subject focus* (cf. 3.1.5.2.).

If roots begin in a consonant other than a glottal stop, ***-om-*** is infixed after the first consonant of the word; if words begin in a glottal stop, ***om-*** is prefixed, and initial glottal is dropped.

(72)	a.	tafia	'fat'	t-om-afia	'to become fat'
	b.	qaforot	'faith'	om-aforot	'to believe'

To denote the change from one condition to another, one process is to affix ***-om-*** to an adjective root, as in (72a). (Cf. 3.1.3.) Verbs may also be derived from nouns by prefixing ***om-***, as in (72b).

(73) qancho 'tall' om-ancho-wak.[12]
SF-tall-I
'I am getting tall.'

The prefix ***mon-*** forms intransitive verbs from noun roots.

(74) fiacho 'clothes' mon-fiacho-wak.
SF-clothes-I
'I put on clothes.'

The prefix ***mang-*** combined with a noun root denotes an action connected with the thing denoted by the root. The final ***ng*** of the prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant as follows and the initial consonant of the root is lost.

(75)	***mang-***	becomes	***mam-***	preceding p, and m.
	mang-	becomes	***man-***	preceding t, n, s, l, w, y, h, ch, and q.
	mang-	becomes	***mang-***	preceding k, ng, and vowels.

Examples:

(76)	charan	'road'	man-aran	'to walk'
	tafiako	'tobacco'	man-afiako	'to smoke'
	kaqiw	'wood'	mang-aqiw	'to go get wood'
	kachiw	'fish'	mang-achiw	'to go get fish'

Abilitative aspect verbs are derived by affixing ***maka-*** to the noun roots.

[12]See 3.1.2. Following root-final high vowels, a semivowel occurs that agrees with the vowel in frontness.

(77)	fiacho	'clothes'	maka-fiacho	'to be able to wear clothes'
	charan	'road'	maka-charan	'to be able to walk'

Object focus (cf. 3.1.5.2.) verbs are formed by affixing ***-on, i-,*** and ***-an*** to noun or verb roots. The differences in meaning between the three affixes is hard to determine. Roughly, ***-on*** is typically used with transitive verbs, ***i-*** with bitransitive verbs, and ***-an*** with transitive verbs which denote that only the surface or appearance of the direct object is affected. (Object focus affix ***i-*** is homophonous with instrumental focus affix.)

(78)	a.	kilo	'kilogram'	kilo-won	'to weigh(OF)'
		qanap	'to look for'	qanap-on	'to look for(OF)'
		chawat	'to receive'	chawat-on	'to receive(OF)'
	b.	tanom	'to plant'	i-tanom	'to plant(OF)'
		oy	'to go'	iy-oy	'to bring(OF)'
	c.	safon	'soap'	safon-an	'to soap(OF)'
		qoras	'to wash'	qoras-an	'to wash(OF)'
		sekyad	'to kick'	sekyach-an[13]	'to kick(OF)'
		sayag	'to call'	qayak-an[14]	'to call(OF)'
		torong	'to help'	torong-an	'to help(OF)'

Locative focus verbs, *benefactive focus* verbs, and *instrumental focus* verbs are formed by affixing ***mon . . . an, i . . . an,*** and ***i-*** respectively (cf. 3.1.5.2.).

(79)	a.	kilo	'kilogram'	mon-kilo-wan	'to weigh at(LF)'
	b.	lokto	'yam'	i-lokto-wan	'to get yams for(BF)'
		chanom	'water'	i-chanom-an	'to irrigate for(BF)'
	c.	kaqiw	'tree'	i-kaqiw	'to get wood(IF)'
		safon	'soap'	i-safon	'to use soap(IF)'

3.1.5.2. Focus system

Philippine languages have a focus system.[15] Ramos (1971:56) states

> The Tagalog verb is formed by combining a root and an affix. The root contains the main lexical content of the verb, and the affix shows the relationship of the verb to the topic or to the focused complement as well as the kind of action involved.

The focused nominal constituent is in nominative case: a noun phrase is marked by the nominative case marker, a pronoun is in nominative case.[16] The verb takes different affixes to indicate which noun phrase is in focus. Wolfenden does not use the term 'focus', but refers to this system as 'voice-mode': "Subjective voice-mode, marked by -um-, shows the topic to be the originator (actor) of the action, and the verb action to be direct and causal" (Wolfenden, 1961:14). Schachter and Otanes (1972:283) state: "The semantic relation of a predicate verb to a sentence topic varies with the focus of the verb, a feature associated with the verbal affix."

Subject focus is signaled by affixes ***-om-, mon-,*** and ***mang-***. Subject is marked by the nominative case marker preceding a noun, or by the nominative case of pronouns. Examples are in (80a-83a). I call the marked noun phrase or pronoun *focused subject*.

---

[13]***sek.yad*** is CVC.CVC syllable pattern. When ***-an*** is suffixed, the syllable pattern changes to CVC.CV.CVC, ***sek.ya.dan,*** and syllable-initial /d/ has the allophone [tš], written ***ch***. See 1.5.

[14]As in the previous example (see note 13), the syllable-final voiced stop of the root becomes syllable initial with ***-an*** affixed, so has a different allophone, in this case [k^h], written as ***k***.

[15]Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1981:4) "reconstruct the features of Proto-Austronesian morphology and syntax which gave rise to the focus systems exhibited by modern Philippine languages."

[16]In some recent studies the "nominative case" is treated as "absolutive" in an ergative or split ergative system (see Brainard 1994 for discussion and references).

Object focus is signaled by affixes ***-on, i-,*** and ***-an*** (80b-83b). I call the marked noun phrase or pronoun *focused object.*

(80) a. *mon-kilo he Pedro he fokas.*
SF-weigh NM Pedro OM rice
'Pedro weighs rice.'

b. *kilo-won Ø Pedro hen fokas.*
weigh-OF GM Pedro NM rice
'Pedro weighs rice.'

(81) a. *mon-tanom kami he fokas.*
SF-plant we(nom) OM rice
'We plant rice.'

b. *i-tanom mi hen fokas.*
OF-plant we(gen) NM rice
'We plant rice.'

(82) a. *mon-qoras kayo he sapatos na.*
SF-wash you(nom) OM shoes his
'You wash his shoes.'

b. *qors-an yo hen sapatos na.*
wash-OF you(gen) NM shoes his
'You wash his shoes.'

(83) a. *mon-qayag he Pedro he anak na.*
SF-call NM Pedro OM child his
'Pedro calls his child.'

b. *qayak-an Ø Pedro hen anak na.*
call-OF GM Pedro NM child his
'Pedro calls his child.'

Indirect object of a bitransitive clause can be focused by affixing ***i . . . an*** to verbs (84b). This is benefactive focus. I call the marked noun phrase or pronoun *focused benefactive.*

(84) a. *mon-lokto he Pedro kan*[17] *asawa na.*
SF-get yam NM Pedro OM wife his
'Pedro goes to get yams for his wife.'

b. *i-lokto-wan Ø Pedro hen asawa na.*
BF-get-yam GM Pedro NM wife his
'Pedro goes to get yams for his wife.'

Instrumental focus is signaled by prefixing ***i-*** to the verb. I call the marked noun phrase or pronoun *focused instrumental.*

(85) *mang-aqiw he Pedro ah choros ko.*
SF-get wood NM Pedro OM bolo my
'Pedro goes to get wood using my bolo.'

[17] ***Asawa*** 'spouse' is a common noun, but can be marked by the personal set of case markers.

i-kaqiw *Ø* *Pedro* *hen* *choros* *ko.*
IF-get wood GM Pedro NM bolo my
'Pedro goes to get wood using my bolo.'

A locative focus verb occurs only in a nominalized form, with a preceding case marker; it occurs in the same position in a clause as other nominals, not in verbal position.

(86) *ahna* *hen* *mon-fiayo-wan* *cha.*
here NM LF-place to pound rice they(gen)
'It is here that they pound rice.'

3.1.5.3. Stative verbs

Stative verbs denote a state or condition. They are not to be confused with stative clauses described in 3.3.3. Stative verbs, unlike ***ma-*** adjectives (cf. footnote 11), can be both in completed and noncompleted form and denote a continuous state or condition. With the affixes ***manga-*** and ***monka-*** they denote possibility.

Stative verbs are derived from noun roots, adjective roots, and verb roots by affixing stative verb affixes. Subject focus stative verbs are derived by affixing ***manga-*** and ***monka-***.

(87) a. sapatos 'shoes'

manga-sapatos *he* *Julio.*
SF-shoes NM Julio
'Julio always wears shoes.'

b. fotang 'to get drunk'

monka-fotang *hen* *chiyoy* *tolin.*
SF-get drunk NM that bird
'Those birds are all drunk.'

Object focus verbs affix stative verb affixes ***ma-***, ***mi-***, and ***ma . . . an*** to nonstative object focus verb roots with ***-on***, ***i-***, and ***-an***, respectively.

(88) Nonstative:
qanap 'to look for' qanap-on 'to look for(OF)'

Stative:
ma-qanap 'to be found'

ma-qanap *hen* *aso.*
st.OF-look NM dog
'The dog can be found.'

(89) Nonstative:
lofok 'grave' i-lofok 'to bury a dead person(OF)'

Stative:
mi-lofok 'to be buried'

mi-lofok *hen* *apo* *na.*
st OF-bury NM grandfather his
'His grandfather can be buried.'

(90) Nonstative:
qayag 'to call' qayak-an 'to call(OF)'

Stative:
ma-qayak-an 'to be called'

ma-qayak-an hen anak na.
st.OF-call NM child his
'His child can be called.'

As is seen in (88-90), all stative derivational affixes also signal focus.

Benefactive focus verbs can be made stative by affixing ***mi . . . an*** instead of ***i . . . an*** (91-92), and instrumental focus verbs can be made stative by affixing ***mi-*** instead of ***i-*** (93).

(91) qanap 'to look for' iy-anap-an 'to look for(BF)'

Stative:

miy-anap-an he asawa na.
BF-to be found NM wife his
'His wife can be found.'

The above sentence is derived from the following:

(92) *iy-anap-an Ø Pedro he*(see footnote 8) *asawa na*
BF-look GM Pedro NM wife his
'Pedro looks for his wife.'

(93) *i-safon mo na.*
IF-soap you(gen) this
'You use this for soap.'

Stative:

mi-safon na.
st.IF-soap this
'This can be used as soap.'

3.1.5.4. Aspect

The basic aspectual distinction is completed and noncompleted. (94) is a chart of verbal affixes.

(94)

	noncompleted	completed
Nonstative verbs		
Subject Focus Affixes	mon-	non-
	-om-	-inm-
	mang-	nang-
Object Focus Affixes	-on	-in-
	i-	in-
	-an	-in . . . an

Benefactive Focus Affix	i . . . an	in . . . an
Locative Focus Affix	mon . . . an	non . . . an
Instrumental Focus Affix	i-	in-

Stative verbs

Subject Focus Affixes	manga- monka-	nanga- nonka-
Object Focus Affixes	ma- mi- ma . . . an	na- ni- na . . . an
Benefactive Focus Affix	mi . . . an	ni . . . an
Instrumental Focus Affix	mi-	ni-

As seen in 94, ***m*** is the main signal for noncompleted aspect, and ***n*** for completed aspect. Nonstative examples:

(95) a. *mon-filang he Pedro.*
SF.noncompl-count NM Pedro
'Pedro counts.'

b. *non-filang he Pedro ad kanad.*
SF.compl-count NM Pedro prep while ago
'Pedro counted a while ago.'

(96) a. *filang-on Ø Pedro hen sipeng na.*
count-OF.noncompl GM Pedro NM money his
'Pedro counts his money.'

b. *f-in-ilang Ø Pedro hen sipeng na.*
OF.compl-count GM Pedro NM money his
'Pedro counted his money.'

(97) a. *i-filang-an Ø Pedro hen anak na.*
BF.noncompl-count GM Pedro NM child his
'Pedro counts for his child.'

b. *f-in-ilang-an Ø Pedro hen anak na.*
BF.compl-count GM Pedro NM child his
'Pedro counted for his child.'

(98) a *ahna hen mon-filang-an cha.*
here NM LF.noncompl-count their
'It is here that they count.'

b. *ahna hen non-filang-an cha.*
here NM LF.compl-count their
'It is here that they counted.'

(99) a. *i-filang* Ø *Pedro hen kammat na.*
IF.noncompl-count GM Pedro NM finger his
'Pedro counts using his fingers.'

b. *in-filang* Ø *Pedro hen kammat na.*
IF.compl-count GM Pedro NM finger his
'Pedro counted using his fingers.'

Stative examples:

(100) a. *monka-fotang hen chiyoy tolin.*
st.SF.noncompl-get drunk NM that bird
'Those birds are all drunk.'

b. *nonka-fotang hen chiyoy tolin.*
st.SF,compl-get drunk NM that bird
'Those birds were all drunk.'

(101) a. *ma-filang hen sipeng na.*
st.OF.noncompl-count NM money his
'His money can be counted.'

b. *na-filang hen sipeng na.*
st.OF.compl-count NM money his
'His money was counted.'

(102) a. *mi-filang-an* Ø *sipeng hen anak na.*
st.BF.noncompl-count GM money NM child his
'Money can be counted for his child.'

b. *ni-filang-an* Ø *sipeng hen anak na.*
st.BF.compl-count GM money NM child his
'Money was counted for his child.'

(103) a. *mi-filang* Ø *sipeng hen kammat.*
st.IF.noncompl-count GM money NM finger
'Money can be counted using fingers.'

b. *ni-filang* Ø *sipeng hen kammat.*
st.IF.compl-count GM money NM finger
'Money was counted using fingers.'

Progressive aspect is expressed by the progressive aspect auxiliary ***cha*** plus a noncompleted form of the verb.

(104) *cha om-oy he Abel ah oswelaqan.*
prog SF.noncompl-go NM Abel OM school
'Abel is going to school.'

Reduplication. By reduplication several aspectual ideas are expressed.

$(CV)^n$ Reduplication of the first CV of a root, usually up to four or five times, expresses *continuous action.*

(105) sadq-on 'to wait' sa-sa-sadq-on 'to keep waiting'

CV Reduplication of the first CV of the root expresses *pretension*.

(106) mon-qilom 'to become wise' mon-qi-qilom 'to pretend to be wise'

CVC Reduplication of the first CVC of the root expresses the actor's effort (conative).

(107) mon-kali 'to speak' mon-kar-kali 'to try to speak'
i-fiaka 'to tell' i-fiag-fiaka 'to try to tell'

CVC Another use of reduplication of the first CVC of the verb is to express *continuous state*. Unlike the previous one, which does not reduplicate the affix, here the first CVC of the verb word is reduplicated. In (108) the root is ***qotoy*** 'death', completed stative object focus prefix ***na-*** is added and the glottal and the initial vowel are deleted.

(108) na-toy 'to be dead' na-nat-toy 'to be dead for a long time'

CVCV Reduplication of the first CVCV of the root expresses the idea of *repetition*.

(109) mangan 'to eat' manga-mangan 'to keep on eating'
mon-kali 'to speak' mon-kali-kali 'to keep on speaking'

$(CVCV)^n$ Reduplication of the first CVCV of root is also used to express *intensity*.

(110) forochon 'borrow' foro-foro-forochon 'always borrowing'

3.1.5.5. Causative and other affixes

Causative verbs are formed by affixing ***pa-*** to the verb root. The prefix combination ***mon-*** plus ***pa-*** remains ***monpa-*** (111), while ***om-*** plus ***pa-*** becomes ***omenpa-*** (112).

(111) a. Noncausative:

mon-qakas he Pedro hen anak na.
SF-medicine NM Pedro OM child his
'Pedro treats his child with medicine.'

b. Causative:

mon-pa-qakas he Pedro hen sakit na.
SF-cause-medicine NM Pedro OM sickness his
'Pedro goes to get his sickness treated.'

(112) a. Noncausative:

t-om-okcho he Pedro.
SF-sit NM Pedro
'Pedro sits down.'

b. Causative:

omen-pa-tokcho he Pedro hen anak na.
SF-cause-sit NM Pedro OM child his
'Pedro makes his child sit.'

Object focus affixes plus *pa-* are ***pa . . . on***, ***ipa-***, and ***pa . . . an.***

(113) a. Noncausative:

qanap-on Ø Pedro hen anak na.
look-OF GM Pedro NM child his
'Pedro looks for his child.'

b. Causative:

pa-qanap-on Ø Pedro hen anak na.
cause-look-OF GM Pedro NM child his
'Pedro causes his child to be found.'

(114) a. Noncausative:

i-kaslang Ø Pedro hen fokas na.
OF-mix GM Pedro NM rice his
'Pedro mixes his rice.'

b. Causative:

i-pa-kaslang Ø Pedro hen fokas na.
OF-cause-mix GM Pedro NM rice his
'Pedro causes someone to mix his rice.'

(115) a. Noncausative:

qoras-an Ø Pedro hen sapatos na.
wash-OF GM Pedro NM shoes his
'Pedro washes his shoes.'

b. Causative:

pa-qoras-an Ø Pedro hen sapatos na.
cause-wash-OF GM Pedro NM shoes his
'Pedro causes someone to wash his shoes.'

Instrumental focus and benefactive focus affixes plus *pa-* are *ipa-* (116) and ***ipa . . . an*** (117), respectively.

(116) a. Noncausative:

i-mqos yo hen safon.
IF-bathe you(gen) NM soap
'You take a bath using the soap.'

b. Causative:

i-pa-mqos yo hen safon.
IF-cause-bathe you(gen) NM soap
'You cause someone to take a bath with the soap.'

(117) a. Noncausative:

i-lokto-wan mi hen anak na.
BF-get yams we(gen) NM child his
'We go get yams for his child.'

b. Causative:

i-pa-lokto-wan mi hen anak na
BF-cause-get yams we(gen) NM child his
'We cause someone to go get yams for his child.'

Stative verb affixes ***ma-***, ***mi-***, and ***ma . . . an*** plus ***pa*** are all realized as ***mepa-***.

(118) *me-pa-kali hen fono.*
st.OF-cause-speak NM phonograph
'The phonograph can be caused to be heard.'

Reciprocal action is expressed by infixing ***-inn-*** between the first consonant and the first vowel of the verb root.

(119)	mon-foro	'to wash'	mon-f-inn-oro	'to wash each other'
	mon-qila	'to see'	mon-q-inn-ila	'to look at each other'

Co-operative action is expressed by prefixing ***mek-***, instead of verbal affixes ***mon-*** and ***-om-***. ***Mek-*** and ***maka*** (see below) are always in subject focus.

(120)	mon-fiayo	'to pound rice'	mek-fiayo	'to pound rice together'
	p-om-atoy	'to fight'	mek-patoy	'to fight together'

The abilitative is expressed by prefixing ***maka-***, instead of verbal affixes ***mon-*** and ***mang-***.

(121)	mon-fiacho	'to wear'	maka-fiacho	'to be able to wear clothes'
	man-aran	'to walk'	maka-charan	'to be able to walk'

3.1.6. Adverbs

Adverbs do not inflect for degree or aspect. Locative adverbs are as follows:

(122)	ahna	'here'
	assa	'there, near hearer'
	ahchi	'there, far from speaker and hearer'

These do not follow the contrasting prepositions ***he*** and ***ah***, nor case marker ***ad***. The contrasting prepositions ***he, ah*** and ***ad*** precede other adverbs to form adverbial phrases. (For location ***ah*** is considered a case marker; see 3.1.7.8.). Some adverbs prefer ***he (he aket,*** cf. 190) and others ***ah (ah wakas,*** cf. 195). Some adverbs always require them.

Another group of adverbs *(modal adverbs)* occurs sentence initially and is followed by a personal or demonstrative pronoun plus linker ***ay,*** and then the verb.

(123) *kasin ka ay om-oy.*
again you lk SF-go
'You go again.'

masapor[18] *ko ay om-oy.*
must I lk SF-go
'I must go.'

kayod ka ay om-oy.
almost you lk SF-go
'You are ready to go.'

mafialin ka ay om-oy.
can you lk SF-go
'You can go.'

kayod tona ay om-oy.
almost this lk SF-go
'This is ready to go.'

3.1.7. Particles

Particles are function words, which mainly signal relationships of units on various levels or express the communicator's attitudes to his own statements. They are linkers, question words, negative words, attitudinal words, case markers, conjunctions, interjections, and prepositions.

3.1.7.1. Linker

The linker ***ay*** (or ***-y*** when the preceding word ends in a vowel) is used generally to connect words, phrases, and clauses that are related to each other as a modifier and a modified.

(124) *ammay ay laraki*
good lk man
'good man'

masapor ay omoy
must lk go
'must go'

laraki ay inmoy ah oswelaqan
man lk went OM school
'a man who went to school'

The other kind of linker is the inversion marker ***at,*** inserted between the inverted units, when the normal order of the sentence is inverted (cf. 5.5.5.).

(125) a. *inm-ali hen mistoro.*
SF.comp-come NM teacher
'The teacher came.'

---

[18]Also ***masapor om-ay-ak.***
must SF.noncompl-go-1
'I must go.'

b. *hen mistoro at inm-ali.*
NM teacher IM SF.comp-come
'The teacher came.'

3.1.7.2. Question words

Interrogative pronouns (3.1.2.3.) elicit information. For yes-no questions the question word ***ay*** is preposed to the statement sentence, and rising intonation occurs.

(126) a. *inm-ali ka.*
SF.compl-com you
'You came.'

b. *ay inm-ali ka?*
QW SF.compl-come you
'Did you come?'

Sometimes ***ay*** is deleted but the rising intonation of the sentence still signals the question intention of the communicator. For orthographical purpose, the question mark at the end of a clause signals question intonation.

To signal a rhetorical question the particle ***ngon*** is inserted after a verb. A rhetorical question has yes-no question intonation.

(127) *maqid in-ila-k hen ayan yo.*
not OF.compl-know-I NM go your
'I don't know where you are going.'

maqid in-ila-k ngon hen ayan yo?
not OF.compl-know-I RQW NM go your
'Do I not know where you are going? I know it.'

3.1.7.3. Negative words

Other than ***maqid,*** which means nonexistence (see 3.3.1.), there are three negative words. Negative words act like main verbs taking the clitic pronouns: both the minimum set of nominative case pronouns and genitive case pronouns (see 3.1.2.1.).

Fiakon reverses the truth value of a clause.

(128) *fiakon-ak om-oy.*
not-I(nom) SF-go
'It is not true that I go. (You may have heard that I am going, but that is not true.)'

achi-na aforot-on ay fiakon-ak om-ali.
not-he(gen) believe-OF lk not-I(nom) SF-come
'He does not believe that I am coming is not true.'

fiakon ko iy-oy.
not I(gen) OF-go
'It is not true that I bring.'

Achi negates the intention of the actor.

(129) *achi-yak om-oy.*
not-I(nom) SF-go
'I don't intend to go.'

achi-k iy-oy sa.
not-I(gen) OF-go that
'I don't bring that.'

Chaqan negates the action in the past.

(130) *chaqan-ak om-oy.*
not yet-I(nom) SF-go
'I did not go.'

chaqan ko iy-oy.
not yet I(gen) OF-go
'I have not brought.'

3.1.7.4. Attitudinal words

A number of particles express the attitude of the communicator. The different functions of four particles of emhasis (132), three particles of certainty (133), and two particles of request (137) are not yet distinguished.

(131) Surprise ***payat*** o payat.
oh surprise
'Oh, is that so?'

(132) Emphasis ***pay*** om pay.
yes emph
'Yes, that is right.'

man adchi man toy chaqan ka omoy?
why emph not yet you go
'Why did not you go?'

ka ngachanay inat yo-hchi ka?
what did you-there emph
'What did you do there?'

nay elam ngon na nay.
look request it emph
'Look at this.'

(133) Certainty ***kon*** kon met inmoy cha.
certainty went they
'They did go.'

met See the above example. ***Met*** usually occurs together with ***kon***.

innaw met.
no certainty
'Certainly no.'

kan adchi sa kan?
why that certainty
'Why is that?'

(134) Uncertainty ***ngata*** omoy-ak ngata.
go-I maybe
'I will probably go.'

(135) Objection ***peqet*** adchi peqet kan?
why certainty
'Why is this?'

(136) Explanation ***anaka*** omoy-ak anaka ah oswelaqan.
go-I well OM school
'Well, I go to school.'

(137) Request ***man*** aka man.
come request
'You come here.'

ngon aka ngon.
come request
'You come here.'

3.1.7.5. Case markers

Case markers are placed before noun phrases and signal their relationship to the predicate and to other arguments within the clause. There are three cases: nominative, genitive, and oblique (cf. 3.1.2.). Each case distinguishes *definite* and *nondefinite*. By 'definite' is meant that the communicator assumes the addressee knows the thing denoted or assumes it to be identified information.

(138) a. *hen kawad chi chanom*
NM place GM(ND) water
'the place of some water'
The communicator assumes the water to be an unidentified object.

b. *hen kawad hen chanom*
NM place GM(D) water
'the place of the water'
The communicator assumes the water to be an identified object.

(139) a. *wacha hen osa ay tako.*
exist NM(D) one lk man
'There was a certain man.'
The communicator assumes the person to be known to the addressee.

b. *wacha-y* *osa* *ay* *tako.*
exist-NM(ND) one lk man
'There was a man.'
The communicator assumes the person to be unidentified.
This construction is typically used at the beginning of a folk tale.

Common nouns and proper nouns take different sets of case markers. Proper nouns further distinguish singular and plural. Proper nouns do not have a nondefinite set of case markers, since they are definite by nature. Forms in parentheses in the following table (140) are used when preceding words end in vowels. The oblique case for nondefinite has ***ah*** and ***he*** as free variants. ***Ad*** in proper singular oblique case is for place names.

(140)

		Nominative		Genitive		Oblique	
		nondef	def	nondef	def	nondef	def
common		Ø(-y)/chi	hen(-n)	chi(-n chi)	hen(-n hen)	ah/he(-h)	hen(-h)
proper	sg		he(-h)		Ø(-n)		kan(-n)/ad
	pl		cha		cha		kan cha

Nominative case indicates the focused noun phrase. Genitive case is used in possessor phrases and for demoted, nonfocused subjects. Oblique case is used to indicate nonfocused direct and indirect objects. For other Philippine languages, ***ang-form***, ***ng-form***, and ***sa-form*** are the commonly used terms for nominative, genitive, and oblique, respectively (Ramos, 1971). Reid (1979) and others use nominative, etc. The Barlig dialect has ***nan*** for nominative common definite case marker (see Appendix B3).

3.1.7.6. Conjunctions

There are a number of conjunctions in Eastern Bontoc. The following conjunctions join clauses, but ***ya*** 'and', ***wenno*** 'or', ***kaman*** 'like', and ***angkay*** 'except, only' also join words and phrases.

(141) ***ya*** 'and'

a. Joining clauses:

inmoy-ak *ya* *inmali-ka* *at.*
went-I and came-you at same time
'I went and you came.'

b. Joining noun phrases:

hen *kinchi* *ya* *hen* *tenapy,* *hiya* *hen* *ammay.*
NM candy and NM cookie it NM good
'Candies and cookies are good.'

(142) ***wenno*** 'or'

a. Joining clauses:

inm-ali *he* *Pedro,* *wenno* *chaqan* *hiya.*
SF.compl-come NM Pedro or not yet he
'He came, or he did not come.'

b. Joining adverbial phrases:

om-oy-ak ah wakas, wenno ah sagqachom.
SF.concompl-go-I prep tomorrow or prep day after tomorrow
'I will go tomorrow or day after tomorrow.'

(143) ***kaman*** 'like'

a. Joining clauses:

kaman-ak om-oy ay ma-rqos.
like-I SF.noncompl-go lk st-pass by
'It seems like I go passing by.'

b. Joining phrases:

manaran he Simeon kaman fianig.
walk NM Simeon like ghost
'Simeon walks like a ghost.'

(144) ***angkay*** 'except'

a. Joining clauses:

oy cha amqin nonsakad angkay hen amqama chaqan.
go they all sweep except NM old man not
'All of them went to sweep, except the old man.'

b Joining phrases:

amqin cha angkay he Juan at inm-oy.
all they except NM Juan IM SF.compl-go
'All of them, except Juan, went.'

(145) ***ngon*** 'but'

laych-ok ay omoy, ngon achi-yak mafialin.
like-I lk go but not-I can
'I would like to go, but I cannot.'

(146) ***tay*** 'because'

inmali ka tay natoy he asawa-m.
came you because dead NM wife-you
'You came, because your wife died.'

(147) ***ta*** 'so that'

omoy-ak, ta wacha-y sipeng ko.
go-I so that exist-NM money my
'I will go so that I will have money.'

(148) ***haqat*** 'then'

omoy ka, haqat omoy-ak.
go you then go-I
'You go; then I will go.'

(149) ***oray mo*** 'although'

oray mo laych-ok heqa, achi mafialin sa.
although like-I you not can that
'Although I like you, that is not possible.'

(150) ***at*** 'at the same time'

om-oy-yak at.
SF.noncompl-go-I at the same time
'I will go now.'

(151) ***mo*** 'if, when'

mo om-ali hiya, om-oy-ak.
if SF.noncompl-come he SF.noncompl-go-I
'If he comes, I will go.'

(152) ***mo*** 'than'

qapqaptek he Simeon mo he Abel.
shorter NM Simeon than NM Abel
'Simeon is shorter than Abel.'

3.1.7.7. Interjections

Interjections express feelings. Interjections are never used in a sentence, but are always uttered in isolation.

(153) ***atiwag/awakan/nay*** When one jumps or stumbles.
ay When one has made a mistake.
anni When one is surprised.
i When one is disagreeing.

3.1.7.8. Prepositions

Prepositions are ***he, ah, ad,*** and ***norpo***. Prepositions form either adverbial phrases ***(he/ah)*** or noun phrases; in the latter case prepositions precede case markers (cf. 3.1.6.). There are two kinds of prepositions. The first kind is ***norpo***, which is a non-native word and occurs before the noun phrase. The second kind is ***he, ah,*** and ***ad;*** these are placed before temporal adverbial phrases (see 3.2.3.) and other adverbs. This second group is homophonous with the case markers, ***he, ah,*** and ***ad,*** but they are here considered prepositions because they do not participate in the focus system (verb affixes do not correlate with these prepositions).

(154) *omali kami norpo ad kachakran.*
come we prep OM kadaclan
'We come from Kadaklan.'

om-oy-ak *ah* *wakas.*
SF.noncompl-go-I prep tomorrow
'I will go tomorrow.'

3.2. Phrase structure

Phrase structure is one level higher than word level. Essentially the words which are the heads of phrases are expanded by the addition of various modifying words to form phrases. The heads are nouns and verbs. Thus two basic categories are noun phrases and verb phrases.

3.2.1. Noun phrase

Common NP

Common noun phrases have a case marker and a head noun. (But see 3.3.2. for such phrases without a case marker.)

(155) *wacha-**n*** ***anak*** *kan* *hiya*
exist-NM child OM he
'He has the child.'

hen *mata-**n*** ***hen*** ***anak***
NM eye-GM GM child
'the eye of the child'

To the above example demonstratives (156a), adjectives (156b), and numerals (156c) can be added. Adjectives and numerals have a linker between them and a noun. Demonstratives follow case markers and precede numerals or adjectives (156d). If both numerals and adjectives are in a noun phrase (156e) adjectives come after the head noun. Otherwise adjectives precede the head noun.

(156) a. *hen* ***chiyoy*** *tako*
NM that man
'that man'

b. *hen* ***ammay*** *ay* *tako*
NM good lk man
'the good man'

c. *hen* ***chowa*** *ay* *tako*
NM two lk man
'the two men'

d. *hen* ***chiyoy*** *ammay* *ay* *tako*
NM that good lk man
'those good men'

e. *hen* *chiyoy* ***chowa*** *ay* *tako* *ay* ***ammay***
NM that two lk man lk good
'those two good men'

Instead of adjectives, modifying nouns (157a) can occur after a head noun to specify it. Personal pronouns (157b) can be placed after a head noun before a linker.

(157) a. ***hen anak na ay fiafiaqi***
NM child her lk woman
'her daughter'

b. ***hen chowa ay anak na ay fiafiaqi***
NM two lk child her lk woman
'her two daughters'

Coordinate NP

Noun phrases of any case can be coordinated by the conjunction ***ya*** 'and'. When the second entity is a personal noun, the phrase is conjoined by the oblique case marker.

(158) *Nominative*

a. ***hen anak ko ya hen asawa-k*** *at cha-cha-n sikab.*
NM child my and NM wife-my IM prog-they-SF sick
'My child and my wife are sick.'

b. ***cha Simeon kan Abel***
NM.pl Simeon OM Abel
'Simeon and Abel'

In (158b) two proper names are conjoined for nominative case; in such a case ***ya*** is omitted.

(159) *Genitive*

inmoy cha ah fiaroy ***ø Naldo ya kan Pedro.***
went they OM house GM Naldo and OM Pedro
'They went to the house of Naldo and Pedro.'

(160) *Oblique*

ichat mo sa ***kan Honorio ya kan Naldo.***
give you that OM Honorio and OM Naldo
'You give that to Honorio and Naldo.'

Appositional NP

Two nouns or noun phrases, or a noun phrase and a pronoun, can be conjoined by the linker ***ay*** to express apposition.

Proper noun following a common noun phrase:

(161) *natoy* ***hen asawa-k ay he Maria.***
dead NM wife-my lk NM Maria
'My wife, Maria, died.'

Common noun phrase following a proper noun:

(162) *natoy* ***he Maria ay asawa-k.***
dead NM Maria lk wife-my
'Maria, my wife, died.'

Proper noun following a personal pronoun:

(163) *inmoy hiya ay* ***he*** ***Pedro.***
went he lk NM Pedro
'He, Pedro, went.'

3.2.2. Verb phrase

Verb phrases have a progressive aspect auxiliary (cf. 3.1.5.4.) and a main verb in noncompleted aspect.

(164) *cha om-oy* *he Pedro.*
prog SF.noncompl-go NM Pedro
'Pedro is going.'

Pronouns can follow a progressive aspect auxiliary.

(165) *cha cha om-oy.*
prog they(nom) SF.noncompl-go
'They are going.'

cha-ak om-oy pay.
prog-I(nom) SF.noncompl-go emph
'I am going now.'

3.2.3. Adverbial phrase

Adverbial phrases can be notionally classified as follows:

Time

For future reference ***ah*** is used, and for past reference ***ad*** is used (cf. 3.1.6.).

(166) *om-oy ka ah wakas.*
SF.noncompl-go you(nom) prep tomorrow
'You go tomorrow.'

inm-oy ka ad kasin.
SF.compl-go you(nom) prep before
'You went before.'

Location

Locative adverbial phrases can be focused (see 168). Thus, I consider ***ah*** and ***ad*** as case markers.

(167) *om-oy kami ah chara.*
SF.noncompl-go we(nom) OM garden
'We go outside.'

Locative phrases can be fronted and marked by nominative case. The verb takes the locative focus marker and is nominalized; like the focused locative phrase, it also takes the nominative case.

(168) *hen chara hen mon-fiantay-an mi.*
NM garden NM LF-guard we(gen)
'It is outside that we guard.'

Quantity

(169) *om-inom kami **he** **aket.***
SF-drink we prep little
'We drink a little bit.'

Qualitative specifications

(170) *om-oy cha **challo/ofos/titqiwa.***
SF-go they truly/also/truly
'They truly/also/truly go.'

3.3. Clause structure

There are three major types of clauses: *existential, equational,* and *verbal clauses.*

3.3.1. Existential

The existential clause does not have a copula, but rather an existential verb followed by a nominative noun phrase. I consider ***maqid*** to be a verb, since it can be in both completed and noncompleted aspects. I consider ***wacha*** to be a verb because of its parallel distribution and meaning to ***maqid***, and because of its similar inflection for future tense reference, even though it is not inflected for completed aspect. Nevertheless, existential verbs differ from regular verbs in that the former do not take the focus affixes.

(171) *wacha hen osa-y tako ad Kachakran.*
exist NM one-lk man OM Kadaclan
'There is/was one person in Kadaclan.'

Wacha can mean 'there was' or 'there is'. For reference to future existence ***mawawacha*** is used.

(172) *mawawacha hen anak yo ah kasin.*
will exist NM child your prep future
'You will some day have a child.'

To denote nonexistence ***maqid*** is used.

(173) *maqid hen anak na.*
non NM child her
'She has no children.'

For future reference ***mamaqid*** is used.

(174) *mamaqid hen fokas mi.*
will none NM rice our
'Our rice will be consumed.'

The example in (174) can also occur in completed aspect. (See further 3.3.2.3.)

(175) *namaqid hen fokas mi.*
became none NM rice our
'Our rice became nonexisting.'

3.3.2. Equational

The equational clause has neither copula nor existential verb. There are four semantic functions of the equational clause: *classificational, possessive, locative,* and *identificational.*

3.3.2.1. Classificational

A classificational clause classifies or categorizes a nominative noun phrase. A noun without a case marker occurs clause-initially and represents some categorization of a following nominative noun phrase.

(176) *carpentero he Simeon.*
carpenter NM Simeon
'Simeon is a carpenter.'

pastor he Abel.
pastor NM Abel
'Abel is a pastor.'

3.3.2.2. Possessive

A possessive clause specifies a relationship of ownership between the referents of its two constituent nominals. The possessor phrase, consisting of an oblique case marker or ***kowa*** (see 3.1.2.1.) followed by a pronoun or a noun, occurs initially. The possessor phrase is followed by a noun phrase in nominative case denoting the thing possessed.

(177) *kan hoqon hen pensal.*
OM me NM pencil
'The pencil is mine.'

kan Simeon hen lopot.
OM Simeon NM clothes
'The clothes are Simeon's.'

kowa-k hen niblo.
possesion-my NM book
'The book is mine.'

kowa-n Pedro hen niblo.
possession-GM Pedro NM book
'The book is Pedro's.'

3.3.2.3. Locative

A locative clause specifies the location of the referent of a nominative noun phrase. The locative phrase occurs initially; it consists of an oblique case marker followed by a demonstrative pronoun or a proper place name. The locative phrase is followed by a noun phrase in nominative case denoting the place.

(178) a. *kan tona hen monqoqomsan cha.*
OM here NM place of bathing their
'This is the place they take a bath.'

b. *ad Kachakran hen enayan cha.*
OM Kadaclan NM went they
'It was to Kadaclan that they went.'

Usually the second constituent of a locative equational clause is a nominalized clause (178b). To express the location of an object an existential clause (3.3.1.) is used.

(179) *wacha ahna hen niblo.*
exist here NM book
'Here is the book/The book is here.'

To negate the location of an object, ***maqid*** is used.

(180) *maqid hena hen niblo.*
none here NM book
'The book is not here.'

3.3.2.4. Identificational

An identificational clause identifies a noun phrase. It usually consists of a nominative noun phrase fronted as clause topic, a demonstrative pronoun coreferential with that noun phrase, and another nominative noun phrase which identifies or modifies the first noun phrase. (Classificational and verbal clauses can also have fronted topic; see 3.4.4.)

(181) *hen fiayas, hiya hen om-inchat hen laweng ahen ibqa.*
NM rice wine it NM SF-give OM bad OM companion
'It is rice wine that does bad things to our companion.'

hen lokto, hiya hen ammay.
NM yam it NM good
'It is yam which is good.'

All of the above equational clauses can be negated by ***fiakon*** 'not true' (see 3.1.7.3.).

(182) *fiakon carpentero he Simeon.*
not carpenter NM Simeon
'Simeon is not a carpenter.'

(183) *fiakon kan haqon hen pensal.*
not OM me NM pencil
'The pencil is not mine.'

(184) *fiakon kan tona hen monqoqomsan cha.*
not OM here NM place of bathing their
'This is not the place they take a bath.'

(185) a. *fiakon hen lokto, hiya hen ammay.*
not NM yam it NM good
'It is not yam which is good.'

b. *hen lokto, hiya hen achi ammay.*
NM yam it NM not good
'It is yam which is not good.'

3.3.3. Verbal

There are a number of ways for classifying verbal clauses. Here I adopt Hale's chart (Hale, 1973:8) of a transitivity system, which is explained in Pike and Pike (1982:129-132), and expanded by Hohulin.[19] For active predicates there are three nominals, *actor, undergoer,* and *site*, each of which can be present(+) or absent(–). For stative predicates there are also three nominals, *statant, predicant,* and *site,* each of which can be present or absent. Actor is the performer of an action, and statant is the recipient of a state or condition. Undergoer is the receiver of an action and grammatically direct object. Predicant is referent. Site is a bound location and grammatically indirect object. Active predicates occur in two general types of clauses: *transitive* (+ actor) and *receptive* (– actor). Stative predicates occur in two general types of clauses: *stative* (+ statant) and *attributive* (– statant).

In Eastern Bontoc three types of the clauses possible in this etic scheme are not found: *bistative, semistative,* and *biattributive*. Both *eventive* and *circumstantial* have no nominals (see figures 4 and 5).

Transitive, bitransitive, and stative clauses have either subject focus or object focus verbs. Transitive and bitransitive clauses have transitive verbs. Semitransitive clause has a subject focus verb or a nominalized locative focus verb. Descriptive and intransitive clauses have subject focus verbs with ***-om-*** affix. Receptive clause has a nonstative subject focus verb, whereas attributive clause has an adjective. Semireceptive clause has a stative verb with ***ma-/na-*** affixes, whereas semiattributive clause has an adjective. Eventive has a subject focus verb with ***-om-*** affix, whereas circumstantial clause has an adjective. 'Verbal' clauses include clauses whose predicates are adjectives, as well as those that are verbs.

[19]Lou Hohulin in her lecture on verb morphology at a Linguistic Workshop held in October, 1981, at Bagabag, Philippines.

Transitive(Tr)

Act	Underg	Site	type	Predicate	Actor	Undergoer	Site
+	+	+	Bitr	e-kaslang OF-mix 'I mix weeds with rice.'	ko I(gen)	hen lokam NM weed	ahen fokas OM rice
+	+	–	Tr	qamma-qan make-OF 'I make a house.'	ko I(gen)	hen fiaroy NM house	
+	–	+	Semitr	k-enm-atam- SF-go home- 'I went home to their village.'	ak I(nom)		he fiabroy OM village
+	–	–	Intr	om-oy- SF-go- 'I go.'	ak I(nom)		

Receptive(Re)

Act	Underg	Site	type	Predicate	Undergoer	Site
–	+	+	Bire	cha om–oy prog SF–go 'The water is going down.'	hen chanom NM water	ah kowabna OM below
–	+	–	Re	t-om-ichak SF-get cold 'The water gets cold.'	hen chanom NM water	
–	–	+	Semire	na-kpat st.SF-get wet 'The floor got wet.'		hen chatqor NM floor
–	–	–	Eventive	om-ochan SF-rains 'It rains.'		

FIGURE 4. TRANSITIVE AND RECEPTIVE CLAUSES

Stative(St)

Stat	Pred	Site	type	Predicate	Statant	Predicant	Site
+	+	+	Bist	No examples in Eastern Bontoc.			
+	+	–	St	in-ila OF.know 'They know your mother.'	cha they(gen)	hen NM	ena–m mother–your
+	–	+	Semist	No examples in Eastern Bontoc.			
+	–	–	De-scriptive	manga-sapatos st.SF-shoes 'Abel always put shoes.'	he NM	Abel Abel	

Attributive(At)

Stat	Pred	Site	type	Predicate	Predicant	Site
–	+	+	Biat	No examples in Eastern Bontoc.		
–	+	–	At	nontitifia yellow 'The clothes are yellow.'	hen NM	lopot clothes
–	–	+	Semiat	ngotog dark 'It is dark inside.'		ah chorqom OM inside
–	–	–	Circum-stantial	atong hoi 'It is hot now.'		

FIGURE 5. STATIVE AND ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSES

3.3.4. Expansion of a Verbal Clause

Verbal clauses may include adverbial phrases.

3.3.4.1. *Modal adverbs* (3.1.6.) occur in clause-initial position, immediately preceding either the main verb or a subject pronoun. Modal adverbs do not inflect for aspect, nor take affixes. They are only used with main verbs in a verbal clause.

(186) *masapor omoy kayo.*
must go you
'You must go.'

(187) *masapor kayo ay omoy.*
must you lk go
'You must go.'

mafialin kayo ay omoy.
can you lk go
'You can go.'

3.3.4.2. To denote *manner* an adverbial phrase may be preceded or followed by the linker ***ay*** (3.1.7.). Example (188) is of linker plus adverb.

(188) *at-on yo **ay ammay.***
do-OF you lk well
'You do (it) well.'

A clause can be expanded by a verb which expresses an adverbial idea. The added verb takes the position and form of a main verb (usually with object focus), while the original main verb takes the final position, with linker ***ay***.

(189) ***iy-amqamma** yo ay mon-fiayo.*
OF-do well you lk SF-pound
'You do well in pounding.'

Examples (190) and (191) involve an adverbial phrase or an adverb without a linker.

(190) *om-inom-ak **he aket.***
SF-drink-I prep little
'I drink wine a little bit.'

(191) *om-oy-ak **challo.***
SF-go-I truly
'I go truly.'

In the next two examples the adverbs are preposed.

(192) ***laqos** nasekon hen achor cha.*
already mature NM body their
'Their bodies are already mature.'

(193) ***onoy** na at esapasapa yo.*
better it IM go early you
'It is better that you go early.'

3.3.4 3. Temporal adverbial phrases occur clause finally. Some such phrases are unmarked for time reference.

(194) *mon-qomos-ak* *inorkiw.*
SF.noncompl-bathe-I every day
'I take a bath every day.'

Time adverbs are used for future reference with preposition ***ah***, for past reference with preposition ***ad***. Of the homophonous oblique case markers (cf. 3.1.7.5.), ***ah*** is nondefinite and ***ad*** is definite. Although I consider the time reference particles as prepositions rather than case markers, there is some correlation between the two. If we consider future time reference as nondefinite and past time reference as definite, this might explain the fact that ***ah*** is used for future time reference and ***ad*** for the past time reference. Temporal adverbial phrases cannot be marked by the nominative case marker, whereas locative adverbial phrases can be thus marked. There is no verbal affix which signals the focus of temporal adverbial phrases, but there is a locative focus affix. Thus I consider ***ah*** and ***ad*** of temporal adverbial phrases as prepositions.

(195) *om-oy-ak* *ah* *wakas.*
SF.noncompl-go-I prep tomorrow

The prefix ***om-*** in ***omoyak*** is *noncompleted* form. Other examples of temporal adverbial phrases for future reference are: ***ah kasin*** 'in the future', ***ah awqawni*** 'later', ***ah maschom*** 'at the sunset', ***ah sagqachom*** 'day after tomorrow', ***ah ossanchi*** 'three days after', and ***ah Lones*** 'on Monday'.

(196) *inm-oy-ak* *ad* *kogka.*
SF.compl-go-I prep yesterday

The prefix ***inm-*** is for *completed* aspect. Other examples of temporal adverbial phrases for past reference are as follows: ***ad kasin*** 'in the past', ***ad kaqo*** 'last night', and ***ad Lones*** 'last Monday'. Any calendar dates, days of the week, clock time and phases of the day can occur after either ***ah*** or ***ad***.

3.3.4.4. Locative adverbs usually occur clause finally. Proper place names take the case marker ***ad***, and common place nouns take ***ah*** (see 3.2.3.). An exception to this rule is that proper place names that cover a relatively small area also take ***ah***. (Kalew is a section of Kadaclan village.)

(197) *ah* *oswelaqan*
OM school
'at school'

ad *Kachakran*
OM Kadaclan
'in Kadaclan'

ah *Kalew*
OM Kalew
'in Kalew'

Ah and ***ad*** phrases can also express direction.

(198) *om-oy-yak* *ah* *toncho* *na.*
SF.noncompl-go-I OM above it
'I go up.'

om-oy-yak *ad* *Kachakran.*
SF.noncompl-go-I OM Kadaclan
'I go to Kadaclan.'

3.3.4.5. Similarity is expressed by the conjunction ***kaman*** 'like' plus oblique case noun (199), pronoun (200), or demonstrative.

(199) *manaran* *he* *Simeon* *kaman* *fianig.*
walk NM Simeon like ghost
'Simeon walks like a ghost.'

(200) *mangan* *he* *Abel* *kaman* *kan* *hiya.*
eat NM Abel like OM him
'Abel eats like him.'

3.3.5. Focus system

If a verbal clause has a nominal, that clause must have a focused nominal. The intransitive clause has only one nominal, which must therefore be the focused nominal. Focus is signaled by the nominative case of the pronoun or demonstrative, or by the nominative case marker at the beginning of the NP. The verb is marked for *subject focus* (SF; cf. 3.1.5.2.).

(201) *inm-ali* *ka.*
SF.compl-come you(nom)
'You came.'

inm-ali *he* *Simeon.*
SF.compl-come NM Simeon
'Simeon came.'

inm-oy *hen* *fiarasang.*
SF.compl-go NM lady
'The lady went.'

The transitive clause has actor and undergoer, grammatical subject and object, respectively. When the object is nondefinite it cannot be focused, but when it is definite it can be focused. (This phenomenon may be explainable in terms of new/old information, but my investigation of that possibility is still too preliminary to draw a conclusion on it.) In the following example, the object is marked by oblique case and is nondefinite. Word order does not serve as a determiner of grammatical relations.

(202) *nang-an* *he* *Juan* *he* *lokto.*
SF.compl-eat NM Juan OM(ND) yam
'Juan ate yams.'

The next example has object marked by oblique case but definite; the actor is still in focus.

(203) *nang-an* *he* *Juan* *hen* *lokto.*
SF.compl-eat NM Juan OM(D) yam
'Juan ate the yams.'

The definite object can be focused and marked by nominative case; the actor is now marked by genitive case, and the verb takes the *object focus* suffix ***-an*** (see 3.1.5.1.).[20]

(204) *ken-an* ***Ø*** *Juan hen lokto.*
eat-OF.compl GM Juan NM yam
'Juan ate the yam.'

The semitransitive clause has actor and site, grammatical subject and object, respectively. When the actor is in focus, it is marked by the nominative, and the object nominal is marked by the oblique case.

(205) *inm-oy he Pedro ah payyew.*
SF.compl-go NM Pedro OM field
'Peter went to a field.'

t-om-okcho he Pedro ah fiato.
SF.noncompl-sit NM Pedro OM rock
'Pedro sits on a rock.'

Object of the semitransitive clause can be focused and is then marked by nominative case. The actor is now marked by genitive case, and the verb takes the object focus suffix ***-an***.

(206) *tokcho-wan* ***Ø*** *Pedro hen chiyoy fiato.*
sit-OF.noncompl GM Pedro NM that rock
'Pedro sits down on that rock.'

The bitransitive clause has three nominals, actor, undergoer, and site. When the subject is in focus, it is marked by the nominative case, and object is marked by the oblique case.

(207) *omen-qali ka-h asokar kan haqon.*
SF.noncompl-bring you-OM sugar OM me
'You bring sugar to me.'

The object can be focused and the verb takes the object focus prefix ***i-***.

(208) *iy-ale-m hen asokar kan haqon.*
OF-bring-you(gen) NM sugar OM me
'You bring the sugar to me.'

The indirect object or site of the bitransitive clause can be focused and the verb takes the benefactive focus affix ***i . . . an***. (***-an*** plus ***-mo*** is contracted to ***-am***.)

(209) *iy-ale-qam he Julio he asokar.*
BF-bring-you(gen) NM Julio OM sugar
'You bring sugar to Julio.'

The descriptive clause has one nominal, which is focused and therefore in nominative case.

(210) *om-gyat he Abel.*
SF-afraid NM Abel
'Abel is afraid.'

[20](204) is taken as traditional passive by some scholars, e.g. Bloomfield (1917), and would be translated: 'The yam was eaten by John.' Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1981:29ff) claim this genitive case arises from the original ergative system of Proto-Austronesian being interpreted as a focus system in the Philippine languages.

The stative clause has two nominals, either of which can be focused.

(211) Subject focus:

mon-qila *cha* *hen* *ena* *yo.*
SF.noncompl-know they(nom) OM mother your
'They know your mother.'

Object focus:

in-qila *cha* *hen* *ena* *yo.*
OF.compl-know they(gen) NM mother your
'They know your mother.'

The attributive clause has one nominal, which is focused and therefore in nominative case. The predicate is an adjective.

(212) *montitifia* *hen* *lopot.*
yellow NM clothes
'The clothes are yellow.'

The semiattributive clause also has one nominal, but it is not focused. The predicate is an adjective. The semiattributive clause is a verbal clause, but lacks focused subject.

(213) *ngotog* *ah* *chorqom*
dark OM inside
'It is dark inside.'

The circumstantial clause has no nominal, its predicate is an adjective, and it does not participate in the focus system.

(214) *atong.*
hot
'It is hot.'

Receptive and semireceptive clauses have one nominal, which is focused. If these two clauses are changed to object focus, they should have two nominals, adding an actor. In that case they are not receptive clauses.

(215) a. Receptive clause:

t-om-ichak *hen* *chanom*
SF-get cold NM water
'The water gets cold.'

b. Nonreceptive clause (transitive):

tichak-on *yo* *hen* *chanom.*
get cold-OF you(gen) NM water
'You cool off the water.'

(216) a. Semireceptive clause:

na-kpat hen chatqor.
st.compl-wet NM floor
"The floor is wet.'

b. Nonsemireceptive clause (semitransitive):

kopt-on yo hen chatqor.
wet-OF you(gen) NM floor
'You wet the floor.'

Eventive clause has no nominal, so it does not participate in the focus system, although its verb has a subject focus affix.

(217) *om-ochan.*
SF.noncompl-rain
'It rains.'

3.3.6. Causative clauses

The causative prefix ***pa-*** can be affixed to verb roots to form causative verbs. From noncausative stative clause to causative, statant becomes undergoer and causer becomes actor (cf. 3.1.5.4.). (218) is noncausative and 'pig' is statant.

(218) *t-om-afia hen fiafoy.*
SF-get fat NM pig
'The pig is getting fat.'

In the causative counterpart, ***hen fiafoy*** becomes undergoer marked by oblique case. The verbal affix is ***monpa-,*** which is the subject focus affix ***mon-*** and the causative affix ***pa-***.

(219) *mon-pa-tafia he Simeon he fiafoy.*
SF-cause-get fat NM Simeon OM pig
'Simeon makes a pig fat.'

When a noncausative clause has two nominals, as in (220a), in the causative counterpart (220b) the causer is marked as actor by nominative case and the initial actor is marked by oblique case. The other nominal, originally Direct or Indirect Object in oblique case, remains unchanged.

(220) a. *mon-qamma-h Pedro ah fiaroy.*
SF-make-NM Pedro OM house
'Pedro makes (builds) a house.'

b. *mon-pa-qamma hen mayor ah fiaroy kan Pedro.*
SF-cause-make NM Mayor OM house OM Pedro
'The Mayor causes Pedro to build a house.'

The direct object in a causative clause can be focused as in a noncausative clause, but the actor (Pedro in 221b) can not be focused.

(221) a. *mon-qamma-h Pedro ah fiaroy*
SF-make-NM Pedro OM house
'Pedro makes a house.'

b. *i-pa-qamma-n mayor hen fiaroy kan Pedro.*
OF-cause-make-GM Mayor NM house OM Pedro
'The Mayor causes Pedro to build the house.'

Most often ***i-pa-*** (222b) in causative clauses corresponds to the object focus markers ***i-, -on*** (223a), and ***-an*** (222a) in noncausative clauses; except in some verbs ***pa . . . on*** (223b) occurs rather than ***i-pa-*** (see 3.1.5.1.).

(222) a. *qayak-an yo chicha.*
call-OF you(gen) them(nom)
'You call them.'

b. *i-pa-qayag yo chicha kan Simeon.*
OF-cause-call you(gen) them(nom) OM Simeon
'You cause Simeon to call them.'

(223) a. *kali-yon yo hen speech.*
say-OF you(gen) NM speech
'You say a speech.'

b. *pa-kali-yon yo he Mayor hen speech.*
cause-say-OF you(gen) NM Mayor OM speech
'You cause the Mayor to say a speech.'

Instrumental ***i-*** can be made causative instrumental by affixing ***i-pa-***.

(224) a. *i-mqos yo hen safon.*
IF-bathe you-gen NM soap
'You take a bath with the soap.'

b. *i-pa-mqos yo hen safon.*
IF-cause-bathe you-gen NM soap
'You cause someone to take a bath with the soap.'

3.3.7. Relative clauses

Relative clauses can be formed by specifying the Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object, Benefactive Phrase, or Instrument Phrase of a clause to be the head of the relative clause, and inserting the linker ***ay*** between it and the remainder of the original clause.[21] The verbs in the relative clause have the focus of the relativized NP.

(225) *Subject*

a. *inm-ali hen fiarasang ah oswelaqan.*
SF.compl-come NM lady OM school
'The lady came to school.'

[21]Thus of the positions in Keenan and Comrie's (1977) noun phrase accessibility hierarchy, Eastern Bontoc realizes Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object, Major Oblique NP (Benefactive and Instrumental). I have not yet investigated the relativization of Object of Comparison.

b. *ammay hen fiarasang ay inm-ali ah oswelaqan.*
good NM lady lk SF.compl-come OM school
'The lady who came to school is good.'

(226) *Direct object*

a. *k-en-an hen fiarasang hen kinchi tona.*
OF.compl-eat GM lady NM candy this
'The lady ate this candy.'

b. *ammay hen kinchi tona ay k-en-ɨ.n hen fiarasang.*
good NM candy this lk OF.compl-eat GM lady
'This candy which the lady ate is good.'

The following examples are given to illustrate that any noun phrase can be relative clause head.

(227) *Indirect object*

a. *i-chat Ø Pedro hen kinchi kan asawa na.*
OF.noncompl-give GM Pedro NM candy OM wife his
'Pedro gives candy to his wife.'

b. *hiya hen asawa na ay i-chat Ø Pedro hen kinchi.*
it NM wife his lk OF.noncompl-give GM Pedro OM candy
'It is to his wife that Pedro gives candy.'

(228) *Benefactive*

a. *i-lokto-wan mi hen amqama.*
BF-get yam for we(gen) NM old man
'We go and get yams for the old man.'

b. *cha matoy hen amqama ay i-lokto-wan mi.*
prog die NM old man lk BF-get yam for we
'The old man for whom we go and get yams is dying.'

(229) *Instrumental*

a. *i-mqos mo hen safon.*
IF-bathe you NM soap
'You take a bath with this soap.'

b. *nangina hen safon ay i-mqos mo.*
expensive NM soap lk IF-bathe you
'The soap you take a bath with is expensive.'

3.3.8. Nominalized clauses

Nominalized constructions can refer to persons and things. Nominalized clauses take the same case markers as do nouns and noun phrases and perform the same grammatical functions. Relativized clauses, by contrast, function like adjectives. Nominalized clauses function as whole noun phrases, while relativized clauses are embedded in noun phrases as modifiers of the heads of the noun phrases. Nominalized clauses can be either completed or noncompleted aspect.

(230) a. *l-en-ako-wan mi.*
buy-OF.compl we
'We bought something.'

b. *t-chat mi hen l-en-ako-wan mi.*
OF.noncompl-give we NM buy-OF.compl we
'We give what we bought.'

c. *t-chat mi hen lak-wan mi.*
OF.nomcompl-give we NM buy-OF.noncompl we
'We give what we will buy.'

(231) a. *haqon hen mon-chono.*
I NM SF.noncompl-work
'I am the one who works.'

b. *haqon hen non-chono.*
I NM SF.compl-work
'I am the one who worked.'

Nominalizations for persons have two forms: one for the person as subject in focus and the other for focus on other than subject. In (232a) ***omara hen*** can be contracted to ***omarah,*** which still indicates oblique case, whereas in (232b) ***mangara hen*** can be contracted to ***mangaran,*** which still indicates nominative case (cf. 3.1.7.5.). ***-om-*** in the former signals subject focus, whereas ***mang-/mangin-*** in the latter signals object focus. (Although ***mang-*** in nonnominalized clauses is the subject focus affix (see 3.1.5.2.), in this nominalized construction it signals the object focus.)

(232) a. *haqon hen om-ara hen pakoy.*
I NM SF-get OM rice
'I am the one who gets (some) rice.'

b. *haqon hen mang-ara hen pakoy.*
I NM OF-get NM rice
'I am the one who gets (all of) the rice.'

3.4. Sentence structure

Sentences in Eastern Bontoc may be either simple or complex.

3.4.1. Simple sentences

The basic simple sentence consists of one clause. It may be declarative, interrogative, or imperative. Simple sentences may also be inverted.

The basic declarative sentence of Eastern Bontoc is typologically VSO, if it is a verbal clause (233a). The nonverbal clause has nominals with nominative case markers following the comment. Taking the comment as the predicate-like constituent and the nominative topic as most subject-like, then the nonverbal clause is also VS (233b).

(233) a. *i-chat ko hen niblo na.*
OF-give I(gen) NM book him
'I give him the book.'

b. *ischa hen lokto.*
side dish NM yam
'Yam is a side dish.'

3.4.1.1. Question sentence

There are *yes-no questions* and *information questions*, both of which may be either rhetorical or nonrhetorical. A yes-no question has the question particle plus rising intonation, whereas an information question has an interrogative word. Rhetorical questions have particles which indicate their rhetorical intent.

Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions expect either 'yes' or 'no' as an answer. A simple sentence can be converted to a yes-no question sentence by the insertion of the question particle ***ay*** at sentence-initial position and by rising intonation at the end of the sentence. The question particle need not be present; then the rising intonation alone signals the yes-no question sense.

(234) *ay omoy kayo?*
QW go you
'Are you going?'

omoy kayo?
go you
'Are you going?'

Information question

An information question elicits specific information from its hearer. Interrogative words such as ***choqod*** 'where' occur in the same position as the corresponding adverbial constituent in declarative sentences, that is, the sentence-initial position (cf. 3.1.2.3.).

(235) a. *choqod hen fiaroy yo?*
where NM house your
'Where is your house?'

b. *ad Kachakran hen fiaroy mi.*
OM Kadaclan NM house our
'Our house is in Kadaclan.'

(236) a. *kaqat na ay oras hen ayan yo?*
how it lk hour NM go you
'When are you going?'

b. *ah lones hen ayan mi.*
prep Monday NM go our
'We go on Monday.'

(237) *adchi toy p-en-atoy mo hen aso?*
why emph OF.compl-kill you NM dog
'Why did you kill the dog?'

Interrogative pronouns asking for nominally encoded information such as ***ngantodqi*** 'what', ***ngan*** 'what', ***ngachan*** 'what', and ***nengkowa*** 'whose' also occur in the sentence-initial position.

(238) a. *ngan tosa?*
what that
'What is that?'

b. *pensal tosa.*
pencil that
'That is a pen.'

(239) a. *ngachana-y kankan-on hen enapoy yo?*
who-NM eat-OF OM cooked rice your
'Who is eating your cooked rice?'

b. *ngachana-y kan-om?*
what-NM eat-OF.you
'What are you eating?'

c. *ngachana-y mang-ara hen fokas?*
who-NM st.SF-get OM rice
'Who is the one who gets rice?'

(240) *neng-fokas tona?*
whose-rice this
'Whose rice is this?'

Rhetorical question

A yes-no question can be made into a rhetorical question by the insertion of the rhetorical question particle ***ngon*** after the predicate, and the prolonged rising intonation. ***Ngon*** may not be present, and in such a case the prolonged rising intonation, a different intonation pattern from that of nonrhetorical yes-no questions, signals rhetorical question (see example 307).

(241) a. *osto sa.*
enough that
'That is enough.'

b. *ay osto sa?*
QW enough that
'Is that enough?'

c. *ay osto ngon sa?*
QW enough RQW that
'Is that enough? It is not enough.'

An information question can be made into a rhetorical information question by the insertion of the emphatic particle ***man*** after the interrogative pronoun.

(242) a. *ngachan tosa?*
what that
'What is that?'

b. *ngachan man tosa?*
what emph that
'What is that? I know what it is. I want it.'

(243) a. *adchi toy anakqakettoy mo?*
why emph little emph
'Why is it so small?'

b. *adchi man toy anakqakettoy mo?*
why emph emph little emph
'Why is it so small? I won't buy it. Give me more.'

3.4.1.2. Imperative sentence

The imperative may use a second person pronoun, either singular (244) or plural (245), to refer to the addressee(s). The form of a nonstative verb in imperatives is noncompleted aspect. The imperative sentence may either be subject focus (244a) or object focus (244b), or in any one of the other focuses.

(244) a. *p-om-atoy ka kan chicha.*
SF.noncompl-kill you(sg.nom) OM them
'You(sg) kill them.'

b. *patay-om chicha.*
kill-OF.noncompl.you(sg.gen) they(nom)
'You(sg) kill them.'

(245) *p-om-atoy kayo kan chicha.*
SF.noncompl-kill you(pl) OM them
'You(pl) kill them.'

Stative verbs take the causative construction (3.3.7.) for imperative intent.

(246) *ma-rango hen chatqor.*
st.SF-dry NM floor
'The floor is dry.'

i-pa-rango yo hen chatqor.
OF-cause-dry you NM floor
'Dry the floor.'

Negative imperatives are formed by inserting the negative word ***achi*** at sentence-initial position.

(247) *achi ka p-om-atoy kan chicha.*
not you(nom) SF.noncompl-kill OM them
'Don't kill them.'

achi yo i-pa-rango hen chatqor.
not you(gen) OF-cause-dry NM floor
'Don't dry the floor.'

An indirect but more powerful command uses the first-second inclusive pronouns ***ta*** 'you and I' or ***tako*** 'all of us'.

(248) *p-om-atoy ta kan chicha.*
SF.noncompl-kill we OM them
'Let us kill them.'

Imperatives without pronouns are used for commanding animals.

(249) *om-oy.*
SF.noncompl-go
'Go.'

3.4.1.3. Sentence inversion

The basic sentence may be modified by inversion. The inversion marker is ***at*** (3.1.7.). This construction is a *cleft* construction, where the answer to a question comes sentence initially and the question part comes after the inversion marker (cf. Jones, 1977:195ff).

The actor or the statant may be fronted.

(250) a. *inm-ali* *he* *Simeon.*
SF.compl-come NM Simeon
'Simeon came.'

b. ***he*** *Simeon* *at* *inm-ali.*
NM Simeon IM SF.compl-come
'It was Simeon who came.'

Other focused nominals can also be fronted.

(251) a. *anap-on* *Ø* *Simeon* *hen* *aso.*
look-OF.noncompl GM Simeon NM dog
'Simeon looks for the dog.'

b. ***hen*** *aso* *at* *anap-on* *Ø* *Simeon.*
NM dog IM look-OF.noncompl GM Simeon
'It is the dog that Simeon is looking for.'

(252) a. *i-kaqiw* *yo* *hen* *ok* *choros.*
IF-get wood with you NM my bolo
'You go and get wood with my bolo.'

b. ***hen*** *ok* *choros* *at* *i-kaqiw* *yo.*
NM my bolo IM IF-get wood with you
'It is my bolo that you get wood with.'

(253) a. *i-loto-wan* *mi* *hen* *qamqama.*
BF-cook for we NM old man
'We cook for the old man.'

b. ***hen*** *qamqama* *at* *i-loto-wan* *mi.*
NM old man IM BF-cook for we
'It is for this old man that we cook.'

3.4.2. Complex sentence

Complex sentences consist of two or more clauses. I outline here Eastern Bontoc complex sentences following roughly Longacre's notional schema (cf. Longacre, 1983:chapter 3). Figure 6 is a summary chart of complex sentences.

3.4.2.1. Coordinate sentence

Conjunctions are ***ya*** 'and' and ***at*** 'at the same time'. Notionally a coordinate sentence expresses *coupling* (Longacre, 1983:81ff.). Predicates are verbs in completed and noncompleted aspect, or adjectives.

Coupling with the same first term in Eastern Bontoc uses conjunction ***ya*** 'and' and the second occurrence of the first term is deleted.

(254) *ngotog hen fiarasang ya aptek.*
black NM lady and short
'The lady is black and short.'

Coupling with different first terms and without reciprocity uses ***ya*** 'and', but no deletion is made.

(255) *manakcho ka ya monloto-wak.*
get water you and cook-I
'You get water and I cook.'

Coupling with different first terms and with reciprocity uses conjunction ***at*** 'at the same time'. By reciprocity is meant that the first term of the first proposition becomes the second term of the second and the second term of the first proposition becomes the first term of the second.

(256) *elako-k kan heqa at lomako ka kan haqon.*
sell-I OM you same time buy you OM me
'I sell to you and you buy from me.'

3.4.2.2. Antithetical sentence

Notional contrast is realized as an antithetical sentence. The adversative conjunction ***ngon*** 'but' is typical for this type (257); ***angkay*** 'except' is used for contrast by exception (258). When verbs are employed, they are in completed (257a-c), noncompleted, or progressive aspect. Or, predicates can be adjectives (257d). Contrast by negation can delete the predicate in the second proposition.

(257) a. *k-enm-atam-ak ngon chaqan hiya.*
SF.compl-go home-I but not yet he
'I went home, but he did not.'

b. *en-ayak-an-ak ngon chaqan cha-ka en-ayak-an.*
OF.compl-invite-(they)-I but not yet they-you OF.compl-invite
'They invited me, but they have not invited you yet.'

c. *inm-oy-ak ad Fialig ngon na-fiati hiya-h fiabroy.*
SF.compl-go-I OM Barlig but st.compl-stay he-OM home
'I went to Barlig, but he stayed home.'

d. *aptek-ak ngon fiakon hiya.*
short-I but not he
'I am short, but he is not.'

In expressing contrast by exception, the first proposition may be positive or negative.

(258) *oy cha amqin nonsakad angkay hen amqama chaqan.*
go they all sweep except NM old man not
'All of them went to sweep, except the old man.'

maqid inmoy ad Fialig angkay hen amqama inmoy.
none went OM Barlig except NM old man went
'No one went to Barlig, except the old men.'

3.4.2.3. Comparison sentence

There are two kinds of comparison sentences: one is comparison of two items differing in some dimension *(comparison of inequality)*, the other is comparison of two items which are the same or almost the same *(comparison of equality)*. Verbs are in completed or noncompleted aspect. Predicates can be adjectives. The second predicate is deleted. ***Mo*** 'than' expresses comparison; after ***mo*** the nominal is in nominative case. This comparison can also be for negative statements. For example:

(259) *qapqaptek he Simeon mo he Abel.*
shorter NM Simeon than NM Abel
'Simeon is shorter than Abel.'

(260) *qadqadchi hen layad Juan kan Maria mo hen layad Simeon kan Lodita.*
not enough NM love Juan OM Maria than NM love Simeon OM Lodita
'The love of Juan for Maria is less than the love of Simeon for Lodita.'

To express equality ***kaman*** 'like' plus nominalized predicate in the oblique case is used (3.3.8.). The nominalized form in (261) and (262) is the locative focus verb, and here it denotes the abstractness of a verb. ***-ana*** is the contracted form of the locative suffix ***-an*** plus the third person singular pronoun.

(261) *laychon Juan he Maria kaman ahen mon-laych-ana kan Sue.*
love Juan NM Maria like OM LF.noncompl-love-LF.his OM Sue
'Juan loves Maria as much as he loves Sue.'

When the comparison is not quite the same, but nearly identical, the idea is expressed by ***kaman*** plus a nominalized predicate in nominative case.

(262) *laychon Juan he Maria kaman hen mon-laych-ana kan Sue.*
love Juan NM Maria like NM LF.noncompl-love-LF.his OM Sue
'Juan loves Maria like he loves Sue.'

3.4.2.4. Alternative sentence

Notional alternation involves contrasting alternatives. Usually it is expressed by ***wenno*** 'or' before the second alternative. Verbs are in completed or noncompleted aspect. Predicates can be adjectives. Nonverbal clauses can also occur in alternative sentences.

The examples in (263) are alternation by negation.

(263) a. *oray mo en-at na wenno chaqa-na.*
even if OF.compl-do he or not-he
'Either he did it, or he did not.'

b. *carpentero he Simeon, wenno fiakon hiya.*
carpenter NM Simeon or not he
'Either he is a carpenter or not.'

The example in (264) is alternation by antonyms.

(264) *oray mo na-tatako hiya wenno na-toy.*
even if st.compl-alive he or st.compl-dead
'Either he is alive or dead.'

The speaker in the above examples does not know which of the statements is true, thus the hypothetical particle sequence ***oray mo*** 'even if' is used. But in a question sentence one does not need to put it in a hypothetical situation: rather one can ask which statement is true, using ***kon*** 'either.'

(265) *ay kon ka man-aran ay omoy he fiabroy wenno kon ka*
QW either you SF.noncompl-walk lk go OM home or either you

mon-qeplano?
SF.noncompl-ride plane
'Are you going to walk home, or ride in an airplane?'

There can be alternation with more than two alternatives. ***Wenno*** 'or' is used for each term after the first. In example (266) the speaker makes a statement, but does not know which alternative is true.

(266) *oray mo he Juan, wenno he Maria, wenno he Sue, hen*
either if NM Juan or NM Maria or NM Sue NM

om-ali.
SF.noncompl-come
'It is either Juan, or Maria, or Sue that will come.'

In the next example the speaker is not guessing as to which one is true, but intends to do one of them, and ***kon*** 'either' is used.

(267) *kon tako k-om-achaw, wenno f-om-orod, wenno*
either we SF.noncompl-get or SF.noncompl-borrow or

mang-akew he relos.
SF.noncompl-steal OM watch
'We will either get, borrow, or steal a watch.'

3.4.2.5. Contingent sentence

A *contingent* sentence expresses the idea that an event, the *antecedent*, is necessary before another event, the *consequent*, could possibly happen. The first clause may be the antecedent and the second clause the consequent, or the reverse. Of the former type, the antecedent may express a necessary and efficient cause. The conjunction in (268) is ***haqat*** 'then'.

(268) *masapor fiayach-an yo, ha-kq-at i-chat hen torfek kan*
must pay-OF.noncompl you then-I OF.noncompl-give NM key OM

chakayo.
you
'You must pay, then I give you a key.'

The conjunction is ***ta*** 'so that'. The first predicate is in completed aspect, and the second is in noncompleted. Or the consequent can express necessary final cause.

(269) *inm-ali* *ka* *ta* *araq-om* *hen* *wasay.*
SF.compl-come you so get-OF.you NM ax
'You came, so that you get the ax.'

Example (270) has the consequent first. In such a case, the antecedent expresses efficient cause, not final cause. The conjunction is ***tay*** 'because'. Both verbs are in completed aspect.

(270) *inm-ali* *ka* *tay* *en-aramid* *asawa-m* *chi* *ali-yam.*
Sf.compl-come you since OF.compl-make wife-your NM come-OF.noncompl.you
'You came, because your wife made you come.'

3.4.2.6. Temporal sentence

A *temporal* sentence expresses notional temporal relationships, of which there are three major kinds: *overlap, succession,* and *overlap/succession.*

The first temporal relationship is *overlap.* An event takes place at one point during all or part of another continuous event; the span is always either in progressive or noncompleted aspect. The following is an etic notional catalog.

In punctiliar-span overlap, the predicate denoting the punctiliar event is in completed aspect, while the other predicate is progressive or noncompleted. Oblique case marker ***ahen*** is followed by the progressive aspect of the verb and functions as 'while'.

(271) Punc-Span

ni-toprog *ahen* *cha-na* *man-ara-na* *ay* *om-oy* *hidqi.*
OF.compl-stumble OM prog-he SF.noncompl-walk-he lk SF.noncompl-go there
'He stumbled while he was walking to go there.'

In example (272) both events are marked by progressive verb aspect, and express simultaneous events. Conjunctions are ***kon pay*** 'when' . . . , ***ya*** 'and' . . .

(272) Span-Span

kon *pay* *cha* *man-aran* *hiya,* *ya* *cha* *man-afiako.*
when prog SF-walk he and prog SF-smoke
'While he was walking, he was smoking.'

The general framework of example (273) is ***kon . . . ya . . .*** as for the *span-span* example above. But unlike span-span, span-punctiliar has the particle ***at*** 'at the same time' after each pronoun.

(273) Span-Punc

konak *at* *cha* *k-om-sad,* *ya* *k-in-ayang-an-ak* *at.*
when-I same prog SF.noncompl-come out and OF.compl-stone-(they)-me same
'When I was coming out, they stoned me.'

Example (274) is of simultaneous punctiliar events. The particle ***at*** 'at the same time' is used after each subject. Both predicates are in completed aspect. Only in the first clause is the conjunction ***kon*** 'when' used.

(274) Punc-Punc

kon-ak *at* *ni-toprog,* *s-in-odpak-ak* *at.*
when-I same OF.compl-stumble OF.compl-knock-(they)-me same
'When I stumbled, they knocked me at the same time.'

Example (275) is of a continuous event that takes place at the same time as a punctiliar event and continues. The particle ***at*** is used after each subject. Conjunctions are ***kon*** 'when' . . . , ***ya*** 'and' . . . The first predicate is in completed aspect and the second predicate is in noncompleted aspect. (271) implies that the second event continued before and after the first event (stumbling), whereas (275) implies that the second event did not occur before the first event, but only after.

(275) Punc-Span

kon-ak *at* *ni-toprog,* *ya* *mon-qakor* *at* *hen* *tatako.*
when-I same OF.compl-stumble and SF.noncompl-cry same NM people
'When I stumbled, at the same time they began to cry.'

Succession is the second notional type of temporal relation and again one can distinguish four subtypes: *span-span, punc-span, punc-punc,* and *span-punc.* A completed aspect verb comes after the conjunction ***ya*** 'and', and a noncompleted aspect verb after the conjunction ***haqat*** 'then'. (Compare the overlap sentences, for most of which the conjunction ***kon*** 'when, while' is necessary.) These comprise an etic catalog derived from meaning categories.

(276) Span-Span

a. *nan-aran* *cha-h* *osa-y* *oras,* *ya* *nan-agtag* *cha-h* *osa-y*
SF.compl-walk they-prep one-lk hour and SF.compl-run they-prep one-lk

oras.
hour
'They walked for one hour, and they ran for one hour.'

b. *nan-aran* *cha-h* *osa-y* *oras,* *ha* *cha* *at* *man-agtag*
SF.compl-walk they-prep one-lk hour then they same SF.noncompl-run

cha-h *osa-y* *oras.*
they-prep one-lk hour

Sentences (276a) and (276b) have the same meaning.

(277) Punc-Span

in-igka *na* *hen* *kaqiw* *he* *ammongo,* *ya* *t-enm-okcho-h* *osa-y*
OF.compl-put he NM wood OM stove and SF.compl-sit-prep one-lk

oras.
hour
'He put(past) the wood in a stove, and then sat for one hour.'

(278) Punc-Punc

t-enm-okcho hiya, en-ara-na-n libro, ya en-okyag na.
SF.compl-sit he OF.compl-get-he-NM book and OF.compl-open he
'He sat down, got the book, and opened it.'

(279) Span-Punc

kon pay cha man-aran hiya, ya ni-toprog at.
when prog SF.noncompl-walk he and OF.compl-stumble same
'When he stopped walking, he stumbled.'

The span-punc example of succession (279) is different from span-punctiliar cases of overlap in two ways. Although the second clause of both examples are the same, expressing a punctiliar event, the span-punc of overlap has ***at*** 'at the same time' in the first clause, which expresses that the first event has an overlapping end with the second event. The span-punc of succession example has the particle ***pay***, which can roughly be glossed 'after the event, finished' and it is the second clause that has ***at***. In this span-punc example of succession some action other than 'walking' is expected after 'stumbling', but in the span-punctiliar example of overlap 'walking' continues after 'stumbling'.

Overlap/succession is the third notional type of temporal sentence. Example (280) has three predicates; the first one is span, the second punctiliar, and the third span. All three clauses have ***at*** 'at the same time', thus they are viewed as overlap, but the second clause has ***ha*** 'then' to signal that the second event succeeds the start of the first one.

(280) *kon mi at cha iy-oy, haq-ak at mi-toprog,*
when we same prog OF.noncompl-bring then-I same OF.noncompl-stumble

ya amrang cha at hen tatako.
and laugh they same NM people
'When we were bringing something, then I stumbled, and at the same time they laughed at me.'

3.4.2.7. Conditional sentence

Conditional sentences, denoting if . . . then relations, are of three kinds: *hypothetical, with universal quantifier,* and *proportional*. These are notional classifications.

For hypotheticality ***mo*** 'if' is used. (This ***mo*** 'if' I treat as a separate morpheme from ***mo*** 'than', though they are homophonous.)

(281) *mo om-ali hiya, om-oy-ak.*
if SF.noncompl-come he SF.noncompl-go-I
'If he comes, I will go.'

To express the idea of a universal quantifier such as 'wherever', or 'whatever', ***mo*** 'if' is followed by ***choqod*** 'where' or ***wacha*** 'exist', and the second clause starts with ***at*** 'at the same time'. After ***choqod,*** or ***wacha***, verbs are nominalized and marked by nominative case marker.

(282) *mo choqod hen ayqay-am awni, at cha-k nomnomnom-on heqa.*
if where NM go-OF.you later same prog-I think of-OF.noncompl you
'Wherever you go later, I will be thinking of you.'

mo wacha hen om-oy hichi, at ma-litaw.
if exist NM SF.noncompl-go there same st.OF-lost
'Whoever goes there, he gets lost.'

The general framework for proportional conditions is ***mo . . . , at . . .*** as for conditions with universal quantifier.

(283) *mo igqigmod ko ay mon-chono, at chamchamona hen*
if try harder I lk SF.noncompl-work same many NM

ma-qara-k.
st.OF-harvest-my
'If I try harder to work, then my harvest will be much.'

3.4.2.8. Circumstance-result sentence

Circumstance-result sentences express the notional idea of *causation*. In the first kind, the first clause carries the idea of causation. The sequence of particles ***kapo ta*** 'because' indicates the reason.

(284) *kapó ta epapate na, payqan tako hiya ay mangamma.*
since do best he leave we he lk do
'Since he does his best, let us let him do what he likes.'

The second kind expresses *contrafactuality*. The first clause starts with ***mo kon*** 'if only'; a glottal stop is inserted in the predicate of the second clause which denotes hypotheticality. The first predicate is in completed aspect.

(285) *mo kon inm-ali hiya, eqenm-ali-yak.*
if only SF.compl-come he SF.compl-come-I
'If only he had come, I should have come also. (He did not come, so I did not come, either.)'

The third kind expresses *warning*. ***Mɛsapor*** 'must' is used sentence initially, and both predicates are in noncompleted aspect.

(286) *masapor anna-qan tako hiya, tay anaka ya achi*
must warn-OF.noncompl we him since may and not

ma-kqak.
SF.noncompl-leave
'We should warn him, because if we don't do that, he will not leave.'

3.4.2.9. Paraphrase sentence

A paraphrase sentence summarizes, or gives more specific or generic statements, or amplifies. Example (287) illustrates the expression of equivalent propositions in the two clauses.

(287) *k-en-matam-ak; inm-oy-ak he fiabroy mi.*
SF.compl-go home-I SF.compl-go-I OM home our
'I went home, I went to our village.'

3.4.2.10. Introduction sentence

An introduction sentence introduces participants into a text. It consists of an existential clause and another clause, joined by ***at***.

(288) *wacha hen naskaw ay nowang at natoy.*
exist NM old lk cow IM dead
'There was an old cow, and she died.'

3.4.2.11. Quotation sentence

A quotation sentence has the quotation marker ***ngon*** followed by the quote. (This quotation marker is homophonous with the conjunction ***ngon*** 'but'; cf. 3.1.7.6.)

Direct quotation supplies the quoted sentence without change.

(289) *kana-na ngon, 'Inila-k hiya-h oswelaqan ad kogka.'*
said-he QP know-I he-OM school prep yesterday
'He said, "I saw her at school yesterday."'

Indirect quotations change the person reference in the quote sentence.

(290) *kanana ngon, inila-na hiya-h oswelaqan ad kogka.*
said-he QP know-he he-OM school prep yesterday
'He said that he saw her at school yesterday.'

Indirect questions are not common in Eastern Bontoc.

For *awareness attribution* (Longacre, 1983:133), a perception verb is followed by ***ay*** 'linker' plus a statement clause.

(291) *inila-k ay wacha hen laweng kan hiya.*
know-I lk exist NM bad OM him
'I know that there are bad points to him.'

3.4.2.12. Concessive sentence

A concessive sentence expresses the idea of frustrated hypotheticality. It is signaled by conjunctions such as ***oray mo*** 'even if'.

(292) *oray mo om-ali hiya, achi-yak om-oy.*
even if SF.noncompl-come he not-I SF.noncompl-go
'Even if he comes, I will not go.'

Sentence types	Conjunctions and Verb forms	Comments
Coordinate S	***ya*** 'and'	Coupling without reciprocity
	at 'at the same time'	Coupling with reciprocity
	complV, noncomplV, adj.	
Antithetical S	***ngon*** 'but'	Contrast by negation
	angkay 'except'	Contrast by exceptions
	complV, noncomplV, progV	
Comparison S	***mo*** 'than' + nominative case	Different degrees
	kaman 'like' + oblique case	Sameness
	kaman + 'like' nominative case	Almost same
	complV, noncomplV	
Alternative S	***wenno*** 'or'	
	complV, noncomplV	
Contingent S	***masapor*** 'must' + noncomplV	
	haqat 'then' + noncomplV	
	complV + ***ta*** 'so' + noncomplV	
	complV + ***tay*** 'since' + complV	
Temporal S	complV ***ahen*** prog	Overlapping
	konpay prog, ***ya*** prog	
	kon at prog, ***ya*** compl ***at***	
	kon at compl, ***at*** compl	
	kon at compl, ***ya*** prog ***at***	
	prog, ***ya*** prog	Succession
	compl, ***ya*** prog	
	compl, ***ya*** compl	
	kon pay prog, ***ya*** compl ***at***	
	kon at prog,	Overlap/Succession
	ha at noncompl,	
	ya	
Conditional S	***mo*** 'if' + noncompl	
	mo choqod 'wherever' + nominalized	
	mo wacha 'whatever' + nominalized	
Circumstance-result S	***kapo ta*** 'since'	Causation
	mo kon 'only if' + compl	Contrafactuality
	masapor noncompl,	Warning
	tay noncompl	
Paraphrase S	Any aspect	
Introduction S	***wacha*** 'exist'	
Quotation S	***ngon*** 'QP'	
	ay 'linker'	Awareness Attribution
Concessive S	***oray mo*** 'even if' + noncompl	

FIGURE 6. SUMMARY CHART OF COMPLEX SENTENCES

CHAPTER IV
BEHAVIORAL DISCOURSE GENRE IN EASTERN BONTOC

The *behavioral discourse genre* is broader than Reid's (1970) *hortatory discourse genre*; the latter is a subclass of the former in terms of the subclassificatory parameter, *projection*. Hortatory is plus projection while *eulogy, praise,* and *rebuke* are minus projection (Forster, 1977). This study considers only rebuke and hortatory texts, both with second person orientation. (See Forster, 1977, for subtypes of behavioral discourse with first person and third person orientation.)

4.1. The communication situation

The intention of the communicator of a hortatory behavioral discourse is to advise an addressee so that the behavior of the addressee changes. But in the case of a rebuke behavioral discourse, the communicator has the further intention of rebuking the addressee.

It is very important in Eastern Bontoc culture to respect elders, parents, uncles and aunts, older siblings and school teachers. Thus, the general pattern shaping behavioral discourse is determined by age, sex, and social status. Usually advice is given by old men to young people, by parents or uncles and aunts to children, by older siblings to younger siblings, by teachers to pupils, by church elders to church members, and by political leaders to other village people. Peace and harmony are highly valued: behavioral discourses are often used to maintain them. Also to respect elders, parents, etc. implies to listen to them and obey them; thus young people, children, etc. are expected to listen and obey.

One common occasion for behavioral discourse is at night after supper, when people have finished their day's work and satisfied their hunger. Weddings, funerals, and community meetings are also appropriate times for behavioral discourse since many people gather and sit together all day long.

The analysis in this chapter is based on my study of six behavioral discourse texts. Text B1 is by a lady to other ladies; she is advising them to go and see the midwife who has recently been assigned to the area. The communicator is supposed to be more educated than the addressees. Text B2 is by the same communicator but here she addresses boys younger than herself. These two texts were actually written and edited by the communicator with these audiences in mind. Text B3 is by a father to his children about the subject of drinking. Text B4 is by a mother to her daughter on the occasion of the daughter's leaving to study in the big city. Text B5 is by another woman addressing her younger siblings and is of the subtype rebuke. Text B6 is by an older sister to her younger brothers and is a rebuke.

One difficulty I encountered in collecting these texts is that usually old men do not permit their speeches to be recorded on tape. Texts B3 and B4 were recorded on a tape recorder with the communicators' permission. Texts B5 and B6 were not recorded on tape, because, being rebukes, people feel ashamed to let such speeches be recorded. Consequently, these texts, like texts B1 and B2, were written by the communicator.

4.2. Behavioral discourse genre and subtypes

The behavioral discourse genre is *plus agent orientation* and *minus contingent succession* as described below. As mentioned above, it is subclassified by the parameter projection: hortatory is plus projection, and rebuke is minus projection (Longacre, 1983:4-5).

4.2.1. Plus agent orientation

One of two basic parameter values which characterizes behavioral discourse is plus agent orientation. An agent referred to by a communicator is in focus or has more significance than one in a discourse with minus agent orientation, such as expository or procedural discourse. Behavioral discourse shares plus agent orientation with narrative discourse in which one or more agents are vital to the discourse.

In Eastern Bontoc, plus agent orientation is reflected in the distribution of pronouns. In *procedural discourse*, which is minus agent orientation, pronouns are used without prior reference in the first sentence;

but in behavioral discourse an agent is usually first established by personal names or common nouns. Then after that pronouns are used throughout the text to refer to the first established agent.

I give here the first part of each behavioral text to illustrate the above point.

(293)

Text B1: *chitako ay iKachakran . . .*
we lk people of Kadaclan
'We, who are people of Kadaclan . . . '

Text B2: *chitako kom-y tatako ad Kachakran . . .*
we hope-lk people OM Kadaclan
'I hope we, people of Kadaclan . . . '

Text B3: *ah chakayo ay anak ko . . .*
OM you lk child my
'To you, who are my child . . . '

Text B4: *adowan naqoy ay omoy-ka ngarod Fiagyo . . .*
now here lk go-you true Baguio
'Now that you are truly going to Baguio . . . '
This is an exception to the above rule since this text is given to a daughter by her mother and the reference is already clear without using a personal noun.

Text B5: *chakayo ay eqenaqoche-k . . .*
you lk younger siblings-my
'To you, who are my child . . . '

Text B6: In the first part of the text the communicator just uses ***chatako*** 'we(incl)', but after a few sentences she refers to the addressee by a personal noun.

chakayo Simon
you Simon
'To you, Simon'

Once established, the agent is usually referred to by pronouns. Hortatory discourse is most effective when the communicator includes himself or puts himself in the position to be advised by using first-second person inclusive pronouns, ***ta*** 'I and you' and ***tako*** 'I or we and you(pl), all of us'. Second person pronouns are more blunt and less effective. They are used for referring straightforwardly to the addressee, as in rebukes, which are usually taken lightly. In texts 5 and 6 second person pronouns are used more frequently than in the other hortatory texts since these texts are rebukes. But even so, communicators of rebuke texts also use ***tako*** 'we and you', to achieve a milder reference to the agent. Texts B1 and B2 use ***tako*** all the way through, except at their peaks, where second person ***kayo*** replaces it. The shifting to the second person pronoun signifies onset of the main thrust of the hortatory point. In texts B3 and B4 mainly ***ta*** 'you and I' is used, except in the introduction and background portions, where second person pronouns are used. First person plural exclusive ***kami*** is not used since it does not have the bridging function of putting a communicator and an addressee on the same ground, and it is not his own behavior that the communicator wants to change.

4.2.2. Minus contingent succession

The second basic parameter value for distinguishing behavioral discourse from others is *minus contingent succession*, a characteristic shared with expository discourse genre (see 2.2.). It means that a predication in the foregrounded part, which in hortatory discourse is the command element, is not contingent on a previous predication. Rather command elements are related to each other by positive-negative contrast

or generic-specific contrast. This means that there are no two command elements in sequence which are in a contingent succession relationship. Therefore almost all command elements are in the noncompleted form of the verb.

However, there are instances where completed aspect is used in behavioral discourse after ***ya*** 'and'. (This construction is used for consecutive steps of procedural discourse.) One instance of ***ya*** plus completed aspect in behavioral discourse is observed in the following example, where the command element ***enqamqamma yo*** 'you fix' is not contingent on the previous command element but is closely related to the predicate in *projected circumstance* (cf. section 4.3.).

(294) *projected circumstance*

mo	*wacha*	*ela-qon*	*you*	*ay*	*cha*	*marowas*	*wenno*	*nagchay*
if	exist	see-OF.noncompl	you	lk	prog	weedy	or	covered by a landslide

command element

ya *en-qamqamma* *yo*
and OF.compl-fix you
'If you find a place where it is weedy or covered by a landslide, you fix it.'

The other instance of ***ya*** plus completed aspect in the six texts occurs in the following example, where the pronoun is fronted and the predicate is in completed aspect after ***ya***.

(295) *chita* *ngon* *challo,* *ya* *n-in-omnom* *hen* *chono* *ah* *fiaroy.*
we emph true and OF.compl-think NM work OM house
'We are truly the ones, we should think of the work at home.'

Fronting the pronoun and using the construction of ***ya*** plus completed aspect is a rhetorical device to strengthen a command element.

The next example (296) in noncompleted aspect illustrates the more common usage in giving advice.

(296) *nomnom-on* *ta* *hen* *chono* *ah* *fiaroy.*
thing-OF.noncompl we NM work OM house
'We should think of the work at home.'

4.2.3. Subtypes of behavioral discourse genre

One minor parameter for subclassifying behavioral discourse is projection (Longacre, 1983:4). This parameter refers to whether the communicator presupposes circumstances in the past or in the future. Plus projection characterizes the usual sort of hortatory discourse; a communicator presupposes a projected circumstance (cf. section 4.3.) by which he establishes the ground to give a hortatory point. Rebuke is characterized by minus projection. Rebuke subtype presupposes an incident or more generalized behavior in the past; a communicator knows what an agent did or his bad habit.

Longacre's (1983:4) other parameter, *tension*, having to do with building up of tension in the text, is not dealt with in this study.

4.3. The notional structure

4.3.1. The notional script

The notional script of behavioral discourse is made up of a number of sets, each of which is in turn made up of four constituents: *justification theme, projected circumstance, command element,* and *support by argument* (Fukuda, 1980). Without the justification theme the remaining three-part notional structure is

similar to the *hortatory point* posited by Brichoux and Hale (1977:76) for Subanun, a southern Philippine language. Jones (1977:144-152) posits the notion of scripts for English expository discourse. The behavioral script is to behavioral discourse as plot is to narrative. I use Jones's notion of 'scripts' for this analysis of Eastern Bontoc behavioral discourse.

A script has a number of sets of four constituents. Each constituent includes a series of its own constituents. Command element includes *main command point* and *subpoint*. Projected circumstance includes *main projection* and *subprojection*. Support by argument includes *reason, purpose,* and *evaluation.*

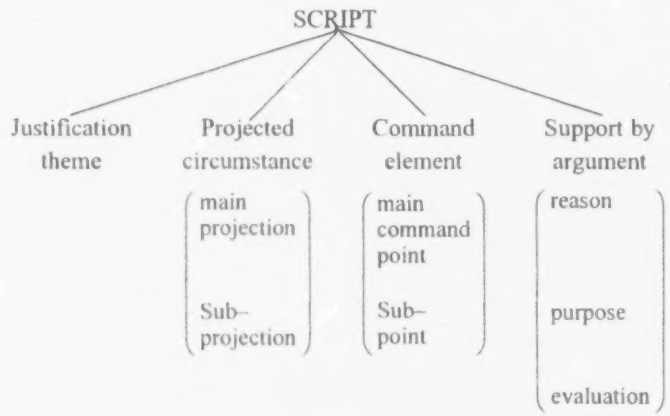


FIGURE 7. THE NOTIONAL SCRIPT

Justification theme has been posited by Benn (1979:2) since "it has become obvious that a speaker often needs to establish that he has the experience or the right to give advice to his hearers." In my analysis of Eastern Bontoc I have also found this notion of justification theme helpful. It establishes or confirms the relationship between the communicator and the addressee. It tells about the communicator's knowledge of the behavioral point, or what the communicator did in contrast to the behavior of the addressee. Thus the communicator puts himself in a position to give advice. Text B4 does not have a justification theme, since it is given by a mother to a daughter and the relationship is confirmed by some other means, such as asking a daughter to sit down before her or just by the kinship relation itself. Text B1 establishes the communicator's right to give advice at the beginning of the text as follows:

(297) *wacha met hen libre ay monpakonsortaqan tako.*
exist true NM free lk consultation our
'There is free consultation with the physician.'

By this clause the communicator shows that she has more knowledge than the addressees, thus acquiring the capacity of an advisor. In other instances the communicator uses kinship terms, implying that the addressee should listen to the communicator.

(298) *at chakayo-y ongongqa*
IM you-lk children
'you, my children'

Example (298) is from text B3, from a father to his children. This is very simple although it is more explicit than text B4, which has no justification theme. It seems that the justification theme is more explicit and elaborated when the addressees are more in number and the communication situation is more public in nature.

Projected circumstance is the part of the script in which the communicator makes his behavioral points clear by positing some sort of projected circumstances in which communicator and addressee come together

in that proposed frame or posited world. Projected circumstance includes *main projection* and *subpoint*. Main projection is to set up the general projected circumstance, whereas subprojection is to set up specific projected circumstance. Both are realized by a conditional sentence with ***mo*** 'if, when' (see 3.4.2.7.) and followed by the noncompleted aspect of a verb, or an existential clause.

(299) *mo om-inom ta . . .*
if SF.noncompl-drink we
'If we are to drink rice wine, . . . '

One projected circumstance may be followed by more than one *command point*, as long as these command points are in the general area of the projected circumstance. In other words, these command points need to be some part of the main command element or be in contrast to it. In text B3 the first projected circumstance ***mo ominom ta*** 'if we are to drink rice wine' covers two command elements: ***achi labson*** 'don't overdrink' and ***achi ta ominqinom*** 'we should not keep on drinking.' The two command elements have a similar effect, which are covered by the same area of advising.

Command element is the nucleus of the notional script. It is the foregrounded part of a behavioral discourse. It includes main command points and subpoints. But in the subtype 'rebuke' it seems that the command points are not organized in the same way; hortatory points are listed paratactically rather than hypotactically subordinated to one another.

The following rebuke text example is from text B5. Command points are listed with numbers in the order in which they appear in the text. The addressee of this text has done a series of wrong things, so the communicator wrote down this text.

(300)
1. You should listen.
2. Do what is good.
3. Don't be cruel.
4. You should not bother old ladies.
5. You should not do like that.
6. We should not steal, nor hide things.
7. You should not do the evil things others are doing.
8. We should not wander around anytime.
9. You should do that.
10. You should obey.
11. You should not fight.
12. We should not steal another person's belongings.
13. We should pray.
14. We should teach good things to others.
15. You should obey your parents.
16. We should use our thinking.
17. You should obey.
18. Don't follow the evil people.
19. You should do good things.

Hortatory discourse, by contrast, has its command element organized into main command points and subpoints. I here give an example from text B2

(301) Main command point 1 We (incl) should help each other in cleaning the road.

Subpoint 1 We (incl) should go and clean together.

Subpoint 2 We (incl) should not give excuses.

Subpoint 3 We (incl) really should help each other.

Subpoint 4 We (incl) should not make it harder.

Main command point	2	You do it.
Subpoint	5	He should go ahead.
Subpoint	6	We (incl) should also go.
Subpoint	7	We (incl) should not think of payment.

Main command point 2 is the same exhortation as main command point 1. It is repeated, but with a different pronoun, to get maximum effectiveness of the hortatory point. Main command point 1 is stated before any projected circumstance, thus it states the most general, main command point. Subpoints 1 through 4 are covered by one projected circumstance, which says 'When one person says that we should clean the road, since it is weedy' and which comes before subpoint 1. Main command point 2 projects the second projected circumstance, which says, 'When you see the road being weedy or covered by a landslide.' This covers subpoints 5 through 7, and is a case of main projection. But preceding subpoint 5, another subprojection projects a more specific area, which says, 'When one person says, "Let us go to clean the road."'

Brichoux and Hale (1977:82) refer to *conflict tòpics* in discussing

> the principle by which hortatory points group into coherent larger stretches, that is, into conflict topics . . . By conflict topic we refer to the major issues in terms of which the hortatory options or alternatives are defined.

Subpoints 1 and 2 can be grouped into such a conflict topic on a notional basis, as can subpoints 3 and 4. Subpoints 1 and 3 are positive commands; subpoints 2 and 4 are negative. Subpoints 1 and 2 can be combined as 'We should clean the road.' which is part of main command point 1. Subpoints 3 and 4 can be combined as 'We should help each other,' which is also the remaining part of main command point 1. Subpoints 1 through 4 are a repetition of main command point 1. Likewise, subpoints 5 and 6 can be combined as 'We should go,' and subpoint 7 is the negative command of subpoints 5 and 6. Thus subpoints 5 and 7 are the repetition of main command point 2.

The command element is realized by three categories:[22] *negative command, positive command,* and *rhetorical question*. The negative command consists of ***achi*** 'not' followed by a clause in which the subject is optional (cf. 3.1.7.3). The subject is a first person inclusive or second person pronoun and occurs at the beginning of the clause.

(302) *achi tako mafiaqenan kan chicha.*
not we(incl) ashamed OM them
'We (incl) should not feel ashamed of them.'

achi labson.
not drink much
'Don't drink too much.'

The positive command has three realizations. The first begins with ***masapor*** 'must', which is followed by a verb.

(303) a. *masapor monpakonsorta tako*
must consult we(incl)
'We must consult the physician.'

b. *masapor ay torongan tako hen chanakchakor tako.*
must lk help we(incl) NM parents our
'We (incl) must help our parents.'

[22]Why there are three realizations of command element, and the circumstances in which each one of them is used, are questions for which I have only a preliminary answer at this point.

In example (303b) ***masapor*** is followed by a linker and then by a verbal clause. An adverb followed by a linker or inversion marker can be inserted after ***masapor***.

(304) *masapor os ay epango-na.*
must also lk lead-he
'He must also lead others.'

In behavioral discourse, there is less lexical cohesion of content words than in expository discourse. The adverb ***masapor*** provides some lexical cohesion in behavioral discourse (see 5.5.1.).

The second realization of positive command is ***ya*** 'and' plus a verb in completed aspect; this realization does not occur at the first command point of a discourse.

(305) *ya en-qamqamma yo.*
and OF.compl-do you
'You do it.'

The third realization is by an imperative sentence (see 3.4.1.2.).

(306) *omaforot kayo.*
obey you
'You obey.'

A rhetorical question is also used as the command element (see 3.4.1.1.).

(307) *ay maqid paqat apos yo?*
QW none really patience you
'Do you have patience? You should have it.'

The *support by argument* constituent includes reason, purpose, and evaluation and supports command elements.

Example (308) supplies a reason, (309) a purpose, and (310) an evaluation.

(308) *tay chachaqil-ona-y anaka achor (S2; B3)*
since destroy-OF.it-NM well body
'since it destroys body.'

(309) *ta mo marpas chi oswela-k (S8, B6)*
so if finish NM school-my
'so that when I finish my schooling.'

(310) *laweng hen labson (S4, B3)*
bad NM overdrink
'Overdrinking is bad.'

Normally in Eastern Bontoc hortatory discourse the notional script is realized as one primary hortatory script. Although it is possible to have a sequence of scripts, it is more common to have one main hortatory point. By contrast, rebuke discourse is more likely to have more than one script since the communicator tends to think of a series of wrongdoings of the addressee. When hortatory discourse has more than one script, it can be that the communicator divides the audience into two or three groups, e.g. women and men, and addresses the two groups consecutively. This is done by addressing different groups by different terms, such as 'you men' or 'you women.' Longacre reports (1968:34) of Ilianen Manobo, a Philippine language, that the communicator addresses both men and women at the beginning of the text, then the second-person orientation is split so as to address first the women and the the men.

A behavioral discourse sometimes has an *introduction* and a *finis* besides justification theme, projected circumstance, command element, and support by argument. An introduction serves to begin a behavioral discourse with a proper orientation in regard to the hortatory point, or to prepare the mind of the addressee to listen to some advice. In some discourses the first command point may not follow the projected circumstance, that is, some discourses go right from introduction to command element with no intervening justification theme or projected circumstance; in such a case an introduction serves as a preparation for a command element. A finis informs the addressee of the closing of the advice.

Text B1 begins as follows:

(311) *chitako ay eKachakran at kon tako titqiwa ngomano.*
we(incl) lk Kadaclan people IM true we true stubborn
'We (incl) the people of Kadaclan are truly stubborn.'

At this first sentence we cannot know what a communicator is trying to say, but we can know that it is about Kadaclan people and their stubbornness and that the communicator is probably going to give advice or to explain one of their characteristics. It can be readily understood that it is not a narrative story, which usually starts with an existential clause.[23] Nor can it be a procedural discourse either, which usually starts with an identification clause (see 3.3.1.). It is harder, however, to distinguish from the first sentence whether the intention of the communicator is to begin a behavioral discourse or an expository discourse.

The finis of text 1 is as follows:

(312) *angkay chi kana-k.*
finish that word-my
'That is the end of my word.'

It states that a piece of advice came to an end.

4.3.2. The macrostructure

The *macrostructure* of a discourse is the communicator's overall conception of the message of his text. For behavioral discourse it is usually crystalized as 'You should do X.' or 'You should not do X.'

In Figure 8 I illustrate script and macrostructure by text B3. The numbers in Figure 8 are for sentence numbers, while the small letters are for command points which are given in English gloss. Sentence 1 begins with a justification theme; the rest of it is the introduction, and sentence 17 is in the finis; neither is part of projected circumstance. The four columns are, from left to right, projected circumstance, command element, support by argument, and justification theme. Sentences 10 and 14 start from justification theme and go into the command element. The projected circumstance in sentence 3 covers through sentence 10; likewise, the one in sentence 11 covers through 16.

[23]The atmosphere of the communication situation also helps to know what to expect; the addressee knows the intention of the communicator right away.

Projected circumstance	Command element	Support by argument	Justification theme
			1. a. You are my children
	1. b. This is what I say to you about drinking rice wine		
	2. a. Don't overdrink	since it destroys body	
3. If we drink	b. Don't overdrink	4. Overdrinking is bad, since it destroys lungs, hearts	
		5. Feeling is bad	
		6. We have a headache	
		7. Words we say to our companions are bad	
		8. Rice wine gives bad things to our companions We do not understand the words	
		9. They keep on saying bad words So if one is drunk, no use of his word	
			10. You, children
	c. We should not keep on drinking		
11. Even if they give wine to you	d. Only taste it		
	12. e. We should not drink much together		
	13. f. Should control tasting of wine	since there is much rice wine at wedding, etc.	
			14. You, children
	g. We should not keep on drinking	15. Only old men can drink wine, since their bodies are mature	
		16. Your bodies will not grow	
	17. That's all I say		

FIGURE 8. SCRIPT AND MACROSTRUCTURE OF BEHAVIORAL TEXT B3

The command points 'a' and 'b' make one unit. The projected circumstance of sentence 3 is 'if we drink,' the first command point is 'Don't overdrink' and 'c' is a negative command point corresponding to the combination of 'a' and 'b'. Sentence 10 begins with an inversion particle ***at***, which summarizes the hortatory point from sentences 2 to 9. Command points 'd' and 'f' are positive command points and make up conflict points with command points 'e' and 'g' respectively, which are negative command points. If I call the combination of command points 'd' and 'e' on the one hand and 'f' and 'g' on the other hand 'h' and 'i' respectively, then 'h' and 'i' are in a parallel relationship. Sentence 14 starts with an inversion particle ***at*** like sentence 10, and is the summary command of sentences 11 to 13. If I call the combination of command points 'a', 'b', and 'c' on the one hand and 'h' and 'i' on the other hand 'j' and 'k' respectively, 'j' and 'k' are parallel at a higher level. Although the projected circumstance given in sentence 11 is 'even if they give you rice wine to drink', the command point is similar to 'f'. Actually the verb forms of command points 'c' and 'g' are different: 'c' has ***ominqinom*** 'make efforts to keep on drinking,' and 'g' has ***monqinqinom***, with the same root, but with the prefix ***mon-*** rather than ***-om-***, which indicates that the actor's efforts to try not to drink are stronger. Both of the forms are subject focus and noncompleted aspect. Also they have the same reduplication of the first CVC of the root, which expresses the actor's efforts (cf. reduplication 3.1.5.4.). This text is made up of one script, and the macrostructure is 'We should not keep on drinking.'

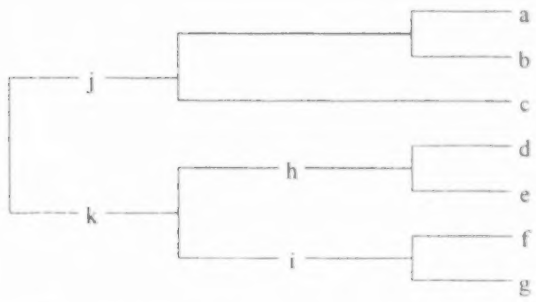


FIGURE 9. COMMAND ELEMENT OF BEHAVIORAL TEXT B3

4.4. Transitivity

Both verbs and clauses can be arranged along a spectrum or continuum of transitivity (see 2.1.). Hopper and Thompson (1980:255) formulate the *Transitivity Hypothesis* thus:

> If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in Transitivity according to any of the features 1A-J, then, if a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause, that difference will also show (a) to be higher in Transitivity.

Some of these features are participant, kinesis, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, and agency. Here I apply a different measure of transitivity, rather than Hopper and Thompson's, to the constituents of the notional script, counting the proportion of transitive clauses (cf. 3.3.3.). For behavioral discourse the *command element* is highest on the transitivity scale. Most constituents of the command element are transitive verbal clauses (48 instances, or 94%), optionally preceded by adverbial ***masapor*** 'must.' In rare cases they can be other than transitive verbal clauses when used with rhetorical questions (1 instance, or 2%): ***ay maqid paqat apos yo*** 'Do you have patience?' They can also be stative verbal clauses (2 instances, or 4%): ***achi ta mafiaqenan*** 'Let's not be ashamed.'

Projected circumstance is next highest on the transitivity scale and can be expressed by a transitive verbal clause (5 instances, or 45%, see example 313), existential clause (3 instances, or 27%, see 3.3.1. and example 314), or by a stative verbal clause (3 instances, or 27%, see example 315).

(312) *mo ominom ta, (S3, B3)*
if drink we
'When we drink rice wine . . .'

(314) *oray mo wacha-y ichat cha , . . . (S11, B3)*
even if exist-NM give they
'Even if there is rice wine that they give you , . . .'

(315) *kaskasin mo masikog ka.*
especially if pregnant you
'Especially when you are pregnant , . . .'

The command element cannot include existential clauses, and a projected circumstance cannot include the adverb ***masapor***. Most commonly justification theme is expressed by equational clauses (10 instances, or 45%), which do not appear in either the command element or the projected circumstance. It can also be realized by transitive verbal clauses (10 instances, or 45%), and existential clauses (2 instances, or 9%). The support by argument is realized by stative verbal clause (19 instances, or 15%), transitive verbal clauses (59 instances, or 46%), existential clauses (19 instances, or 15%), and equational clauses (30 instances, or 23%). Example (316) is support by argument, realized by part of a contingent sentence.

(316) *tay choray cha hen mangawawis kan chita. (S2, B4)*
since many they NM tempt OM us
'Since those who tempt us are many.'

4.5. Constituency structure

4.5.1. Paragraph structure

The communicator intends to build up the hortatory points to achieve the global purpose of his discourse. Notionally a behavioral discourse has an introduction, a script, and a finis. As mentioned in 4.3.1., the script of a behavioral discourse has four notional constituents: justification theme, projected circumstance, command element, and support by argument. The notional introduction and the finis can be considered to be realized by paragraphs on the surface level, as example (317) from the introduction of text B6 shows. One sentence can start off as the end of the introduction and then end up as the beginning of the justification theme, command element, or projected circumstance.

(317) *adqowan ay chatɑko masikon amqin. hiya mokon wahchi wahchi kan*
now lk , we mature all it hope each each OM

chitako ya chinngor tako-y tokon.
we and hear we-NM advice
'Now we(incl) are all grown up. It is our hope that each one of us will listen to the advice.'

Example (318) is the finis of text B6. It begins with the word ***angkay*** 'finish', which signals that the communicator's hortatory points have all been made.

(318) *angkay na-h ifiaka-k ya hiyaqat mokon yo chinngor hen naqoy aket*
finish it-NM say-my and that hope you hear NM this small

ya tokon ko. Hen ya angkay chawat ko at achi yo koma paqat
and advice my NM and finish prayer my IM not you hope true

cha taptapiyan chi probleman cha ina kan ama.
prog add NM problem their mother OM father
'This is all I say and I hope you listen to this bit of my advice. My only prayer is that you do not add to the problems of our mother and father.'

A hortatory paragraph is the main constituent of behavioral discourse. Usually a projected circumstance starts a new paragraph, followed by one or more commands. Each command can be followed by support by arguments. For example, text B3 (see Figure 8) has an introductory paragraph, composed of the single sentence 1: ***naqoy nan maqifiakak kan chakayo nan ominqinom ahnan fiayas*** 'This is what I tell you about drinking rice wine.' Text B3 also has a finis, ***angkay chih ifiakak*** 'That is all I want to say.' Sentences 2 through 10 make up one paragraph. The projected circumstance in sentence 2 signals a new paragraph. Since commands 'a' and 'b' make one unit, 'a', 'b', and 'c' are covered by the projected circumstance of sentence 3. Sentences 11 through 16 make up another paragraph. The projected circumstance in sentence 11 signals a new paragraph and covers the command points of 'e', 'f', and 'g'.

Explanatory paragraphs can be embedded in a support by argument. The following example is from sentence 8 of text B3:

(319) *nan fiayas, hiya-h ominchat hen laweng ahnan ibqa, tay mo*
NM wine that-NM give NM bad OM companion since if

wacha na kanan, achi yo mapoqotan.
exist he say not you understand
'It is the rice wine which gives bad things to our companions; since if the drunkard says something, you cannot understand him.'

Sentence 7 talks about the bad words of those drunkards, and sentence 8 explains more about the drunkards. This single sentence realizes a single explanatory paragraph.

4.5.2. Peak

Peak is 'any episode-like unit set apart by special surface structure features and corresponding to the Climax or Denouement in the notional structure' (Longacre, 1983:25). I extend Longacre's notion of peak from narrative discourse to behavioral discourse. *Peak paragraph* is the grammatical paragraph which is identified as having surface structure features of peak. Person orientation shift and negative-positive shift are two criteria which identify the peak paragraph.

Person orientation has to do with shifting pronouns, although the communicator is communicating to the same person or group of people. Text B2 has ***tako*** 'we inclusive' in all instances but sentence 17 (example 320), which is a sentence starting from justification theme through projected circumstance, command element, and support by argument. In sentence 17, the pronoun shifts to ***kayo*** 'you.pl.nom' (or ***yo*** 'you.pl.gen', ***chakayo*** 'you.pl.nom'). ***Chakayo,*** including only second person reference and not first, expresses a more direct command.

(320) Justification theme:

mon kon chakayo ay lallaraki,
if only you lk men

Projected circumstance:

mo wacha elaqon yo ay cha marowas wenno nagchay,
if exist see you lk prog weedy or landslided

Command element:

ya en-qamqamma yo,
and OF.compl-do you

Support by argument

tay kakaqasi cha-y fianabfiaqi ay cha omonqonod kan chakayo.
since pitiful they-NM ladies lk prog follow OM you
'Only you men, if you see some place is weedy or covered by a landslide, you improve it. Because the ladies who are following you are pitiable.'

Rebuke discourse shifts pronouns more often than hortatory discourse. For example, text B6 starts with ***ta*** 'you and I' for the first paragraph, then shifts to ***kayo*** 'you(pl)' in the next paragraph, then shifts to ***tako*** 'we(pl.incl)', and then shifts back to ***kayo*** 'you(pl)' in the last paragraph. The communicator tries to get willingness out of the addressee by first using forms that include himself and the addressee together, next goes to second person forms to be more direct, and then after being direct, tries to be inclusive again by using ***tako***, and finally becomes direct again (cf. text B6 in the appendix).

Negative-positive shift is a device of a communicator to get maximum attention of an addressee. Giving commands in only negative imperatives or only in positive forms would be monotonous and would lessen the communicative impact. Thus for example in text B3 command points 'a' through 'c' are in the negative,

and command points 'd' and 'f' are in the positive. But in the same paragraph as these last two 'e' and 'g' are in the negative. So the basic command for text B3 is negative, but in the peak paragraph, which starts at sentence 11, some of the commands are shifted to the positive to gain effectiveness in making hortatory points. I observed that when a well-structured bit of advice is given, such as text B3, children obey it, but when I gave advice using only negative imperatives, it did not work.[24]

4.5.3. Sentence

For behavioral discourse a major sentence restriction is that it cannot be within a projected circumstance only. That is, if a sentence starts as a projected circumstance, it has to go on to a command element or to a support by argument. A sentence that starts from a projected circumstance is typically a conditional sentence.

(321) *kaskasin mo masikog ka, masapor ay oy ka monpachek-up, ta elaqon*
especially if pregnant you should lk go you consult so see

midwife mo ammay chi eqennot hen onga ad chorqom.
midwife if good that doing NM child OM inside
'Especially if you are pregnant, you should go and consult the midwife, so she checks you to see whether your child inside your womb is doing fine or not.'

A command element typically is realized by an imperative sentence, but it can be realized by a rhetorical question.

(322) *achi tako mafiaqenan kan chicha.*
not we ashamed OM them
'We should not feel ashamed of them.'

Support by argument and justification theme can both be realized by sentences of their own or by the continuation of sentences started in the projected circumstance or command element, or, in the case of support by argument, in the justification theme.

(323) *achi pararowon, tay chachaqil-ona-y anaka achor.*
not overdrink since destroy-OF.it-NM well body
'Don't overdrink, since it destroys body.'

Example (323) starts in command element and goes on to support by argument. Support by argument may also be realized by an entire sentence, and it can be an introduction sentence (324), a simple sentence (325), or a quotation sentence (326).

(324) *wacha met os hen akas midwife.*
exist true also NM medicine midwife
'There are also medicines at the midwife's office.'

(325) *hen ominom ya angkay hen choy cha lallakay.*
NM drink and only NM these they old men
'These old men are the only ones who can drink.'

(326) *wacha mangali ngon, achi-yak omali, tay omoy-ak kan tochi ay lokar . . .*
exist say QP not-I come since go-I OM that lk place
'Someone says, "I will not come, since I go to such and such a place . . . " '

[24]This difference in response could, of course, have been at least partially related to the fact that I am not a Bontoc.

4.5.4. Particle *at*

The particle ***at*** in a sentence is an inversion marker (see 3.1.7.), inserted after a fronted noun phrase. But there are other uses of this particle on a level higher than sentence. ***At*** summarizes the command element of a paragraph. Sentences 10 and 14 of text B3 are good examples of this use of ***at***.

(327) S10 *at chakayo-y ongongqa, achi ta ominqinom.*
IM you-lk children not we drink
'So that you children, we should not keep on drinking.'

S14 *at chakayo-y ongongqa, masapor koma nga achi ta monqinqinom.*
IM you-lk children must hope lk not we drink
'So that you children, we should not keep on drinking.'

The second projected circumstance of text B1 starts with ***at*** and summarizes the previous projected circumstance.

(328) *at mo wacha hen oytako lekna he potog, oy tako epaqila kan*
IM if exist NM our feel OM stomach go we show OM

midwife wenno kan nurse.
midwife or OM nurse
'So if we feel some moving in our stomach, let us go and show it to a midwife or a nurse.'

When finis has some concluding remark of the hortatory point, then ***at*** concludes the discourse. This is seen in text B2:

(329) *at hiyachi haqat tako matorongan ad Kachakran.*
IM this then we helped OM Kadaclan
'That is all, then in Kadaclan we can be helped.'

Text B6 does not have this particle, and even in text B3 there are no instances of this particle at paragraph boundary, i.e. at the beginning of a major constituent of the discourse. Both texts are rebuke discourse; thus it seems that the command element of rebuke discourse tends to be differently organized than that of behavioral discourse, with no need of the particle ***at*** to signal the summary of the previous statement.

4.5.5. Focus system

Of the six texts I studied for behavioral discourse, in the *command element* constituents there are 25 instances (or 52%) of subject focus verbs, and 23 instances (or 48%) of nonsubject focus. In *projected circumstance*, there are 2 subject focus verbs (40%), and 3 with other focus (69%). In *support by argument*, the respective percentages are 32% and 68%, in *justification theme*, 20% and 80%. (All instances of nonsubject focus verbs are object focus.) Thus of a total of 122 clauses, 39% have subject focus verbs. This gives us the expected result; the command element has the highest percentage of subject focus verbs.

Behavioral discourse is plus agent orientation. The proportion of subject focus verbs is much higher than that of expository discourse (cf. 5.5.6.). In text B3 (cf. Figure 9), (a), (b), (d), and (f) are in direct object focus; that is, the focus is on rice wine or the taste of it. But (c), (e), and (g) are in subject focus; that is, the communicator is focusing on the addressee. If the communicator focuses only on the addressee, saying *you* do it, *you* do that, then he loses effectiveness in his admonition. Usually the advice is related to some conduct or some objects, so it is wise to use a nonactor focus verb to focus on those elements, thus making clear the particular point in regard to which the addressee needs to change his behavior.

CHAPTER V
EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE GENRE IN EASTERN BONTOC

Expository discourse shares one parameter value with behavioral discourse: *minus contingent temporal succession*. On the other hand, behavioral discourse is plus agent orientation and expository is not. Expository also shares one parameter value with procedural discourse: *minus agent orientation*. On the other hand, procedural discourse is plus contingent temporal succession and expository is not.

Expository discourse, as defined by Longacre (1983:3ff.), stands at the opposite extreme to narrative discourse: they share neither of the two major parameter values of discourse genre classification. Expository discourse is minus agent orientation and minus contingent temporal succession, whereas narrative discourse has a plus value for both parameters. Thus, in any language we would expect differences in participant reference, especially in pronominal usage, and in linkage between sentences and paragraphs. Although this chapter treats expository discourse, comments will be made on narrative discourse when applicable.

5.1. The communication situation

Generally speaking, the main common feature assumed in the situation in which an expository discourse is given is a communicator who has more knowledge about a given subject than the addressee (cf. Walrod, 1979). Typical of expository discourse in Eastern Bontoc are the texts studied here, some of which are given to an outsider, who naturally knows little of local life, and some of which are given to young members of the society. In both cases, texts are given by relatively older people. The speaker does not have to be an old person but does have to be old enough to give an expository discourse. If one tries to get an expository discourse from a young person, he normally refuses by saying, 'I don't know.' What he really means is that even though he may know the material, he does not feel that he is in a position that Eastern Bontocs consider appropriate for giving such discourse. But an older person is supposed to know the things in the area, thus he feels he is in a position to do so. This is also true for the addressees; they feel comfortable when an older person gives an expository discourse but not when too young a person does so.

The intention of the communicator is to explain about the subject matter he knows well. Texts E1 and E2, given to an outsider, are intended to explain about harvesting in Eastern Bontoc. At the same time they are intended to entertain. They also convey the speaker's attitude toward the two harvesting times, one in the dry season and the other in the rainy season. In other words, these are not pure scientific explanations; rather the communicator communicates his intention with his emotions. In text E1 the communicator thinks the harvesting in the dry season is ***ammay*** 'good' (text E1, sentence 2), and in text E2 it is not so desirable to do harvesting in the rainy season, because we get caught in cold weather (***machinamoyta***, text E2). The main intention of the communicator in both cases, however, is to explain about harvesting. The main staple food in Eastern Bontoc area is rice. The people have been rice farmers on wet rice paddy terraces for many generations. Everyone knows when to plant and to harvest, for each of which there are two times in the yearly cycle. The communicator of texts E1 and E2 knows that the hearer, myself, knows their language and customs. What the communicator chooses to supply and to omit in background information reflects his assumption on how much the hearer already knows about harvesting in Eastern Bontoc.

Expository discourse is different from procedural discourse in that it is not meant to explain step by step how to make something, although sometimes both are explaining things on a chronological time line. It is considered successful communication if the hearer understands the subject matter or he understands the values which are communicated in the discourse. Text E1 does follow roughly a chronological time line, but events are not contingent on previous events. Rather, the communicator picks up the different activities to explain, e.g. bringing lunch, activities while planting, and cooking lunch.

Behavioral discourse intends to effect a change in the conduct of the hearer, whereas expository discourse does not. Thus expository discourse does not have a justification theme (see 4.3.1.). Narrative discourse is to entertain, and expository is to explain. Although they do not share any basic parameter values, they both communicate the value systems of the people.

5.2. The basic parameter values and subtypes of expository discourse

Expository discourse genre is minus agent orientation and minus contingent succession. It is subclassified by the parameter *projection; explanatory* is minus projection, while *orientation/budget* is plus projection (Longacre, 1983).

5.2.1. Minus agent orientation

One of the two basic parameter values which characterizes expository discourse is *minus agent orientation*. This means that the agent is not in focus; rather, the subject matter is (see 5.5.6.). In this regard it is similar to procedural discourse, in which again the agent does not play a vital role.

Minus agent orientation is realized by an indefinite agent being introduced by a pronoun or noun phrase and thereafter referred to by pronouns. As in procedural discourse, the pronouns refer to someone in the community, but the reference is not specific. In this regard it is different from behavioral discourse, which is addressed to and refers to a specific individual or group of people. Even in the orientation subtype, second person pronouns are indefinite in reference. Text E1 introduces an agent as ***hen osa ay tako***, 'NM one lk person, one person,' which is the typical introduction of a nonspecific participant. It can be anyone in the community. Text E3 uses ***cha*** 'they' right from the first sentence. Text E4 introduces an agent as ***hen om-asawahna***, 'NM one who gets married here, a person who gets married here,' and again it can be anyone. Text E5, which is of the orientation subtype, uses second person pronouns all the way through the text, but not referring to the addressee specifically. Text E6, which is another example of the orientation subtype, uses the first person inclusive pronoun ***ta*** 'I and you' to be polite, even though the person orientation is toward second person.

In order to achieve minus agent orientation, expository discourse depends on nominal and pronominal expressions capable of interpretation as indefinite reference. Narrative discourse is full of proper nouns, personal descriptions and titles, and kinship terms. Behavioral discourse uses pronouns, but as in narrative discourse they are definite in reference. In expository and procedural discourses pronouns cannot refer back to preceding expressions. For behavioral discourse the second person is closely linked with proper nouns or kinship terms. An example is from text B6, ***chakayo Simon*** 'you, Simon'. This phrase is addressed to Simon with a pronoun. Following this phrase the proper noun is not used but second person pronouns are. The reference of the pronouns is clear as the communication act aims at that second person which is referred to by the proper noun. When second person pronouns are used for procedural and expository discourses, it is clear that they are given to an addressee, who is referred to by the second person pronoun. But the addressee is not identified, at least not in the text. An addressee could be anyone who is in the same category as the one functioning as addressee in the communication situation. That is, if the actual addressee is an outsider, he represents any outsider. This is because the intention of expository discourse is to explain, not to effect a change on a particular individual or a group of people. In order to explain, one needs to be concerned about the subject matter in the communication act, although the communicator's assumption of how much an addressee knows of a particular subject affects how much background information he puts into his discourse.

5.2.2. Minus contingent temporal succession

The other basic parameter value for expository discourse is *minus contingent temporal succession*. It means that sentences and paragraphs are not temporally contingent on previous sentences and paragraphs; rather, they are logically linked. The subject matter develops logically. I illustrate this from text E2. In the introduction (sentences 1 and 2) it is established that this text is about harvesting the short variety of rice. And after sentences 3-10, a concluding remark is given as sentence 11. Roman numerals are for the notional grouping of expository explanation.

I. Sentence 3: Call neighbors.
Sentence 4: If no one comes, your family works.

II.	Sentence	5:	Even if they come, there is no need of meat for food.
	Sentence	6:	Beans are the food.
III.	Sentence	7:	Work in the rain.
	Sentence	8:	Harvest is small.
IV.	Sentence	9:	Some people come to get wages.
	Sentence	10:	Others come to help.

Sentences 3 to 10 can be grouped two by two. Sentences 3 and 4 are about the workers (I). Sentences 5 and 6 are about lunch for the workers (II). Sentences 7 and 8 are about weather for the workers (III). Sentences 9 and 10 are about the workers (IV). (I) and (IV) are about the workers. (II) logically talks about lunch for the workers after the discussion of the workers in (I). (III) proceeds to the working conditions of the workers. If we take lunch as a working condition, (II) and (III) are similar. The notional organization of S3-S10 can be roughly formalized as:

a b b' a',

where a stands for the theme of workers and b stands for the working conditions of workers. It is now obvious that they are logically linked. a' and b' are similar to a and b respectively, but slightly changed; their order is b' a', forming a chiasmus. Also, a and b are logically related.

Expository discourse can be developed roughly on a chronological time line, yet it is not characterized by contingent temporal succession. Text E1 is an example. Like text E2, text E1 gives the theme of the text, the harvesting of the long variety of rice, in its *introduction*. The communicator just gives a long time span as a frame of reference, and describes what kinds of activities are performed in that time span. These activities are not chronologically ordered. In the case of narrative discourse, repeating a previous event is the common device for chronological linkage: 'When it was ready, they went to the field. When they went to the field, they began harvesting.' Sentence 8 of text E1 states several activities: Some people get in lines, still others give riddles, others tell stories, and others sing songs. These activities do not take place at the same time, but one after another; yet none is contingent on its temporal antecedents. This text explains what the owner of the field is supposed to do and what other people who come to help harvesting are supposed to do.

5.2.3. Subtypes of expository discourse genre

The minor classificatory parameter value is *projection*. Plus projection is used to explain a subject matter which is to take place. This is an *orientation* subtype. Minus projection is the usual concept of expository, *explanatory*, in which the discourse refers to no particular time.

The orientation subtype gives information on how to behave, or how to prepare for something, but not how to make a certain thing. The communicator of an orientation discourse considers the addressee as the presupposed agent of the discourse. This presupposition is realized by using pronouns ***ka*** 'you' or ***ta*** 'I and you.'

Explanatory discourse explains any subject to a less knowledgeable person. An agent in this discourse is referred to by third person pronouns and noun phrases, such as 'one who gets married' or 'one man.'

5.3. The notional structure

5.3.1. The notional script

The notional *script* of expository discourse is made up of a number of sets, each of which is in turn made up of three constituents: *condition, expository element*, and *reason* (Fukuda, 1980). This schema can be compared to the three-way division into *projected circumstance, command element*, and *support by argument* of behavioral discourse (4.3.1.); expository discourse has no constituent corresponding to

justification theme. (Procedural discourse likewise has three constituents: *condition, step,* and *evaluation.*) In all three of these discourse genres, the first sort of constituent creates a hypothetical situation, which is the background information. The central part advances the main line of the discourse, and is the *foregrounded* part. The third part supports the central part by giving additional background information.

For expository discourse, the *condition* is the starting point of the explanation, or the condition for the following explanation. It serves to develop the explanation. There can be several *expository elements* to one *condition*. A set of constituents expresses the subthemes of an expository discourse.

Expository element is the main body of the notional script. It carries the main expository theme. Reason gives background information, and strengthens the communicator's explanation (cf. example 330).

Like behavioral discourse, expository discourse can have an *introduction* and a *finis*. An introduction begins the discourse, states its thesis, and orients the addressee to the direction of the communicator's intention. A finis gives concluding remarks, summarizing what has been explained. An introduction and a finis are optional. For example, when a communicator is asked by an addressee to give an explanation on some subject, he does not necessarily state what he wants to explicate, as it is clear from the communication situation. Text E1 gives us an example of an introduction:

(330) *hen kasibtak ahen tinyorkiw ad Kachakran, at monlapo ahen anongos*
NM harvest OM long rice OM Kadaclan IM begin OM end

hen Mayo inkana Julio.
GM May until July
'The harvesting time of long rice in Kadaclan begins at the end of May and goes till July.'

A finis is exemplified in (331) from the same text.

(331) *hiyachi hen aton hen kasibtak ahen tinyorkiw ad Kachakran.*
that NM way GM harvest OM long rice OM Kadaclan
'That is the way of harvesting long rice in Kadaclan.'

Expository discourse does not have the justification theme found in behavioral discourse (4.3.1.). The justification theme sets the proper relationship between the communicator and the addressee. Expository discourse does not need to set a social relationship between the communicator and the addressee because in order to explain, one does not need to establish himself in the position of advisor, although the relationship between communicator and addressee is important.

I illustrate the *condition* constituent of the sets of script from E4 (see Figure 10). The first constituent of *condition* is ***hen omqasawahna fiabroy tako*** 'the one who gets married here in our village.' Note that the condition is set up, not by a conditional sentence (3.4.2.7.), but by a noun phrase that presupposes the condition. This text is about inheritance. The highest, most inclusive theme is whether a person gets married or not, so the first constituent of the condition takes this up on the positive side of getting married. Later in the text (S7ff.) the other side of not getting married will be considered. The next two constituents of the condition deal with the case of children who come of marriageable age. The first of these is ***at mo pangoro*** 'if he/she is the eldest child' (S2). It is customary in Eastern Bontoc society that the children get married starting with the eldest, so this condition is about the case of the eldest son or daughter. The second of these is ***kon pay hen enaqochi mo omqasawa*** 'when the youngest gets married' (S3). Usually people in Eastern Bontoc have many children. It is assumed that the inheritance practice for the second child and following is not as complicated as for the eldest; they merely inherit some pond fields. The fourth constituent is ***ya konpay hen asawa ay maqid anak cha*** 'and those people who do not have children' (S4). The previous constituents presuppose a couple without children. The fifth constituent is ***at wacha hen mangintokchon chicha*** 'and there is a person who takes care of them' (S5). The sixth is ***mo maqid mangintokchon chicha kaya wachan matoy kan chicha ay hen asawa*** 'and if there is no one who takes care of them and one of them dies' (S6). The seventh is ***hen achi omqasawa*** 'the one who does not get married' (S7). This corresponds to the first constituent of the condition. Here I list all these constituents of the condition.

1 the one who gets married here in our village

2. if he/she is the eldest child
3. when the youngest gets married
4. and those couples who do not have children
5. and there is a person who takes care of them
6. and if there is no one who takes care of them and one of them dies
7. the one who does not get married

In this text the condition is closely associated with the overall intent of the communicator. This is because the expository discourse explains a given subject, and in order to do that, one must develop his explanation according to a logical scheme of presentation.

The *expository element* mainly serves to state the consequence of a *condition*. I illustrate this again from text E4. Since the first constituent of the condition is covering the second and third constituents of the condition, it does not have an expository element. The expository element for condition 2 is ***hiya hen manginfortan ahen chamchamona ay payyew ya hen fosi mo wachay fosi, poryok ya hen kangsa*** 'he is the one to inherit many pond fields, the clay pot, if there is one, the big cooking pan, and the gong.' The expository element for the third constituent of conditon is ***hiya hen manginkowah nan fiaroy ya hiya hen mangintokchoh nan chiyoy enana ya ama na*** 'he is to get the house and takes care of his mother and father.' The house he gets is the one in which the parents have been living. Regardless of sex, the youngest one gets the house and takes care of the parents. The fourth constituent of the condition is one level above the fifth and sixth, and does not have an expository element. The expository element for the fifth constituent of condition is ***hiya hen chiyoy hen manginkowah nan chiyoy kokowan nan chiyoy asawa ay maqid anak cha*** 'he is the one to get the property of that couple who does not have children.' The expository element for the sixth constituent of condition is ***hen chiyoy ibqa na kodkodwaqon cha hen oycha payyew ay kinako cha*** 'their relatives divide the property, the pond field of that couple.' The expository element for the seventh constituent of condition is ***maketokchoh nan chiyoy ena na ya ama na, angkayya hen chiyoy oy nafortan kon cha amqammaqan amqin, maramamong hen oyna chanakchakor ay aqammaqan cha*** 'he takes care of his or her mother and father, and they work together so that all that is earned is his. They live together to work.'

Reason supports the expository element by giving additional information. In text E4, after the third condition and expository element, additional information is given: ***kon pay hen chiyoy pangoro kon cha esafiatan he fiaroyna*** 'the eldest child builds his own house.' This additional information is given here because in the previous condition and expository element the youngest child is mentioned as receiving the house of the parents. After the sixth condition and expository element additional information is also given: ***mo maqanqanisqo hen kastos cha ofos mo tempon hen matayan*** 'if at the time of burial both sides of relatives spend equally.' It is the usual practice that both sides, the families of the dead spouse and of the surviving spouse, spend equally, so that they can get the property equally. This information is given as background information for an outsider. From these examples it can be said that the *reason* constituent of the script gives material supportive to the expository element.

I here give the display of expository text E4 with columns for condition, expository element, and reason. Numbers after sentence numbers are for numbering the conditions.

		Condition	**Expository element**	**Reason**
S1	1.	The one who gets married here in our village,		
	2.	if he/she is the eldest child,	he is the one to inherit many pond fields, clay pot, if there is one, big cooking pan, and gong.	

S2	3.	When the youngest gets married,	he is to get the house and takes care of his parents.	S3 The eldest child builds his own house.
S4	4.	Those couples who do not have children,		
	5.	and there is a person who takes care of them,	he is the one to get the property of that couple.	
S5	6.	And if there is no one who takes care of them and one of them dies,	their relatives divide the property, the pond field of that couple,	if at the time of burial both sides of relatives spend equally.
S6	7.	The one who does not get married,	he takes care of his parents. S7 They work together so that all that is earned is his. S8 They live together to work.	

FIGURE 10. SCRIPT OF EXPOSITORY TEXT E4

5.3.2. The macrostructure

The macrostructure of a discourse is the communicator's overall conception of the message of a text (4.3.2.). The macrostructure of expository discourse is harder to discover than that of behavioral discourse. Most behavioral discourses of Eastern Bontoc deal with one hortatory point; thus the intention of the communicator forces him to make his hortatory point clear. For expository discourse, when a communicator explains a subject, he makes his point clear by logical linkage. I illustrate the macrostructure for expository discourse from text E4.

The main intention of the communicator is to explain about inheritance. The main interest of explanation is who gets what. The communicator picks out individuals as candidates to inherit following a logical scheme of presentation. The macrostructure is apparently very extensive for this text:

The rule of the inheritance is:
0. If the couple has children
   1. and one gets married
      2. and if he is the eldest child, he/she gets many fields and many valuable objects,
      3. and if he is the youngest child, he/she takes care of the parents and inherits the house,
   7. and if the child does not get married, he/she takes care of the parents and inherits what they have earned together.
4. If the couple does not have children,
   5. and if there is someone who takes care of them, he/she inherits the property,
   6. and if there is no one who takes care of them, the relatives of both divide the property.

5.4. Transitivity

The transitivity scale, mentioned in 4.4., serves as a scheme for comparing different discourse genres. We expect the transitivity value for expository discourse to be toward the opposite extreme from procedural and narrative discourse.

For expository discourse the expository element constituent of the script is the highest constituent on the transitivity scale, but not as high as the highest constituents in narrative and procedural discourses. One of the transitivity features is *kinesis* (Hopper and Thompson, 1980), which means action is higher on transitivity scale than nonaction. Only 16 out of 45 clauses (36%) in the consequence part of the six expository texts are transitive verbal clauses. This proportion is significantly low compared to the *step* constituent of procedural discourse, where all the clauses are transitive verbal clauses. In condition and reason, there are 9

and 3 instances of transitive verbal clauses out of 49 and 18 clauses, or 18% and 17%, respectively. These proportions are lower than the one in expository element. In expository element, the identificational clause (see 3.3.1.) is typical for expository discourse and has 14 instances (50%). There are four existential clauses, six adverbial expanded clauses, and four stative verb clauses. Of all the clauses in the six expository texts, 25% are transitive verbal clauses, compared with 62% for behavioral discourse (4.4.). This percentage of transitive clauses in expository discourse is the expected result.

The condition is most often filled by a conditional clause (332a). It can also be filled by an identificational clause (332b).

(332) a. *konpay mo omcha hen orkiw ay monfiatk-ana, (S4, E1)*
when if come NM day lk harvest time-his
'When his day of harvesting arrives , . . . '

b. *hen kay fiatak at anakqakettoy.*
NM harvest IM little
'The harvest is little.'

The reason is filled by an identificational clause or a verbal clause (333).

(333) *konpay hen chiyoy pangoro, kon cha esafiatan he fiaroy na. (S3, E4)*
and NM that eldest only they build OM house his
'The eldest child builds his own house.'

5.5. Constituency structure[25]

5.5.1. Lexical cohesion

Lexical cohesion is realized by using lexical items in the same semantic domain (cf. chapter 6 of Halliday and Hasan, 1976). Text E1 is about harvesting, so it is natural that the word ***fiatak*** 'harvest' is used in different forms, i.e. verbal and nominal, in almost every sentence. Text E1 is presented here in simplified form for each sentence with the translation of the root ***fiatak*** italicized.

S 1 about the *harvesting* of long rice
S 2 this *harvest* . . . to *harvest*
S 3 his rice is ready to *be-harvested*
S 4 the day of *harvesting* . . . let us go *harvesting*
S 5 those who come to *harvest-together* . . . to be *harvested*
S 6 the rice *harvested*
S 7 those who *harvest* . . . *harvest*
S 8
S 9
S 10 *harvest*
S 11 how we do *harvesting*

Text E1 explains about harvesting in the dry season. There are two seasons in the Eastern Bontoc area, the dry season and the rainy season. Harvesting in the dry season is characterized by the participation of many people and their happily eating together out in the field. So words which imply many people, such as 'each one', 'divided two by two', 'neighbors', and 'relatives' are used.

[25]The notion of peak is not found helpful for expository discourse; thus the section of peak is not included in this constituency structure.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

S 1
S 2 *people*
S 3
S 4 *neighbors, relatives* come
S 5 those *people* who harvest
S 6 *each one*
S 7 *divided-two-by-two*
S 8 line up . . . *some* ask riddles, *some* do story telling, *some* do singing
S 9
S 10 *each one*
S 11

It is not only the presence of many people that makes people happy, but also what they eat. Usually people eat rice and vegetables. Animals are butchered for such occasions as weddings, funerals of old people, visits of important visitors, and harvesting in the dry season. In other words special food is for special occasions and is mentioned in several sentences.

S 3 meat, food, rice wine
S 5 people do not bring lunch
S 9 cook their food, eat

In text E1, the value 'good' is explicitly mentioned in sentence 2. It is the dry season, so one does not get wet in harvesting. Lots of people help each other in harvesting, thus making it an enjoyable time, and lots of food, especially meat, is provided. All of these contribute to a good happy harvesting. Thus lexical items help to achieve the cohesion of the text and development of the topic.

5.5.2. Pronouns and participant reference

In text E1, a person whose rice is ready to be harvested is introduced by a common noun phrase, ***osa ay tako*** 'one person', and those who come to help him are introduced by ***tatako*** 'people'. Since everyone has fields and harvesting time comes for each one of them, and there is no one who does harvesting by himself; each person calls for helpers. ***Osa ay tako*** 'one person' can be anyone in the community. ***Tatako*** 'people' can be any kind of group. I illustrate this from text E1.

	A Host	**Helpers**
S 1		
S 2		people
S 3	one person . , . *his* rice. *he*	
S 4	*his* . . . *he* . . . *his* neighbors. *his* neighbors	his *neighbors* . . . his *neighbors*
S 5	that *owner* of the field	these *people*
S 6		*each one* . . . *his* . . . *his* . . . *his* . . . *his* . . .
S 7		these *people* who harvest together . . .*they*
S 8		*they* . . . *they* . . .*some others*
S 9	this *owner* of field	*their* . . . *their*
S 10		*they* . . . *they* . . . *each one*
S 11		

After the initial common nouns or noun phrases, pronouns are used to refer to the participants: ***na*** 'he, his' or ***cha*** 'they, their.' After a few occurrences of pronouns, participants are referred to again by a common noun phrase or by a nominalized verb: ***makibtak*** 'the ones who harvest together' (S7) or ***nengpayyew*** 'the one who owns the field' (S9). This is done when a speaker wants to shift his reference point to another entity. This is different from what happens in procedural discourse, where pronouns are used from the first sentence without prior reference and these referents are never referred to by a noun phrase. But for both discourses, expository and procedural, agent orientation is minus. This means that specific participants do not have roles in the text. In behavioral discourse, the agent is specifically referred to by the communicator. As we saw in

text E1, participants in expository discourse are introduced as one person, or people, without specific mention of who they are.

5.5.3. Particles

One of the particles which characterize expository discourse is ***kay***. It can be roughly glossed 'then in that connection', but that does not convey its exact meaning. There is another adverb, ***ofos/os***, which can be glossed 'too'.

(334) *omoy-ak ofos.*
go-I too
'I go, too.'

This clause presupposes that someone other than the speaker goes. But ***kay*** advances the explanation, sometimes by giving examples, or by contrasting the statement with ***kay*** with the previous statement. I illustrate this from text E1.

Sentence 7 Those who harvest, they group themselves two by two.

Sentence 8 There are ***kay*** those who line up, and still others give riddles . . .

Sentence 9 The owner ***kay*** of that field, he cooks in preparing their food for lunch.

Sentence 8 is a further elaboration of sentence 7; i.e. sentence 7 describes the harvesters as working in groups of two people each, and sentence 8 gives more details of the explanation of harvesting. Sentence 8 builds on sentence 7. The reference point is shifted to individual groups. Sentence 9 shifts the reference point to the owner of the field. What he does is contrasted with what other people do. ***Kay*** advances the subject of an expository discourse.

5.5.4. Sentence

Expository discourse utilizes simple sentences (3.4.1.), complex sentences (3.4.2.), quotation sentences (3.4.2.11.), and negative sentences (3.1.7.3.). By contrast behavioral discourse has question sentences (3.4.1.1.), especially rhetorical questions. Procedural discourse does not have question sentences. Unlike procedural and behavioral discourses, where imperative sentences (3.4.1.2.) are the main sentence type for the command element of the script, expository discourse does not have instances of imperative sentences except in quotes. For a *finis*, expository discourse has identificational clauses, which start with ***hiyachi hen*** . . . 'that is . . . ' (this occurs in four instances out of six expository texts).

(335) *hiya-chi hen aton hen kasibtak ahen tinyorkiw ad Kachakran.*
it-that NM way GM harvest time OM long rice OM Kadaclan
'This is the way we do at the harvest time of long rice in Kadaclan.'

But behavioral discourse has a finis with ***angkay chi*** 'that is . . .'

(336) *angkay chi-h ifiaka-k. (S17, B3)*
that that-NM say-I
'That is all I want to say.'

For an *introduction*, expository discourse has the following examples of identificational clauses, but they are inverted, with noun phrases which are the topic of the text fronted.

(337) a. *hen kasibtak ahen tinyorkiw ad Kachakran at monlapo ahen*
NM harvest time OM long rice OM Kadaclan IM begin OM

anongos hen Mayo inkana Julio.
end GM May until July
'The harvesting time of long rice in Kadaclan begins at the end of May until July.' (S1, E1)

b. *hen kanan cha ngon sidsicha, at hiyan . . . (E3)*
NM word they QP ceremony IM that
'What they say 'sidsicha', that is . . .'

But for behavioral discourse, although simple sentences are employed, they often include an additional nominal constituent, functioning as a vocative, usually sentence initial.

(338) *ah chakayo ay anak ko, naqoy nan maqifiaka-k kan chakayo . . (S1, B3)*
OM you lk child my this NM advice-my OM you
'You who are my children, this is my advice to you . . .'

For *condition* and *reason*, the sentences which are used are similar to the *projected circumstance* and *support by argument* of behavioral discourse. The sentence types are conditional (3.4.2..7.), concessive (3.4.2.12.), contingent (3.4.2.5.), and quotation sentence (3.4.2.11.). The conditional sentence sets up the new situation for the *expository element*.

(339) *mo maqid omali, kon kayo angkay ay hen fiaroy. (E2)*
if none come only you only lk one house
'If none comes, your family will be the only ones.'

The concessive sentence is another way of setting up a new situation for the *expository element*.

(340) *oray mo wacha hen omali ay osa wenno chowa , . . . (E2)*
even if exist NM come lk one or two
'Even if one or two persons come , . . .'

The contingent sentence is for condition, adding background information.

(341) *hen kay fiatak at anakqakettoy, ta agqagkay narango, tay amchan chi*
NM also harvest IM small so quick dry since much that

oragna ay pakoy. (E2)
fall lk rice
'This harvest is small, and it is quick to get dried, since there is much rice which falls.'

The quotation sentence adds vividness to the explanation.

(342) *konpay mo omcha hen orkiw ay monfiatka-na, oy-na iyayag ahen*
when if come NM day lk harvest-his go-he call OM

sasagqo-na ya ibqa na ay mangali ngon, in tako ta oy takon
neighbor-his and relatives his lk say " QP go we so go we

fiatak he payyew-mi-d-qowan wenno ah wakas. (S4, E1)
harvest OM field-our-prep-now or prep tomorrow
'When the day of his harvesting comes, he goes to call his neighbors and relatives, saying "Let's go to harvest at our field today or tomorrow."'

5.5.5. Sentence inversion

Jones (1977) mentions two Philippine languages, Mamanwa and Tagalog, which show the characteristic feature of the nominative case markers, ***ya*** and ***ang***, respectively, for the sentential theme. The use of these case markers beyond the sentence is described as follows:

> Theme at higher hierarchical levels in Tagalog may be grammatically marked in various ways. One common way is to front a thematic NP in the sentence. Since Tagalog sentences are generally verb-first, an NP before the verb receives strong prominence (Jones, 1977:175).

The above statement can be applied to Eastern Bontoc. The nominative case marker, ***hen*** for a common noun, ***he*** for a singular proper noun, and ***cha*** for a plural proper noun, is equivalent to ***ya*** and ***ang*** of Mamanwa and Tagalog. The fronting of a thematic NP in the sentence signals the higher level theme also for Eastern Bontoc. When a NP is fronted, an inversion marker ***at*** is placed after the NP, separating it from the rest of the sentence (cf. 3.4.1.3.).

I illustrate the above statement from text E1. In sentences 1 and 2 ***kasibtak*** 'harvesting' is fronted and thus gains high level thematicity.

Sentence 1:

hen	*kasibtak*	*ahen*	*tinyorkiw*	*ad*	*Kachakran,*	*at*	*monlapo*	*ahen*	*anongos*
NM	harvest	OM	long rice	OM	Kadaclan	IM	begin	OM	end

hen	*Mayo*	*inkana*	*Julio.*
GM	May	until	July

'The harvesting of long rice in Kadaclan begins at the end of May and goes till July.'

Sentence 2:

hetona	*ay*	*kasibtak,*	*at*	*ammay . . .*
this	lk	harvest	IM	good

'This harvesting, it is good . . .'

Sentences 3 to 10 go on to explain about harvesting since that is established as the main theme of the text. There are two groups of people, those who invite their neighbors and relatives to harvest and those who come to help in harvesting. They are not specific persons since any person may be part of either group. Sentence 3 talks about the one inviting others. Sentence 5 changes the topic to those who come to help. Sentence 9 comes back to the one inviting. I note for sentence 5 ***at*** is not after ***makibtak***, which is the normal position, but before the case marker, and for sentence 9 ***at*** is omitted, although the noun phrase is fronted.

Sentence 3:

mo	*hen*	*osa*	*ay*	*tako*	*at*	*kayod*	*mabtak*	*chi*	*pakoy*	*na . . .*
if	NM	one	lk	man	IM	near	harvest	that	rice	his

'When one person's rice is ready to be harvested . . .'

Sentence 5:

at	*hen*	*chiyoy*	*cha*	*oy*	*makibtak,*	*achi*	*cha*	*manngat*
IM	NM	this	they	go	harvest	not	they	take lunch

'These people who come to harvest together, they do not bring their lunch.'

Sentence 9:

hen kay chiyoy nengpayyew, monsorqat ay . . .
NM also that owner of field cook lk
'The owner of the field, he cooks . . .'

5.5.6. Focus system

In the *expository element* constituent of expository discourse, out of 45 clauses of six texts, there are only 5 instances (11%) of subject focus verbs. In the condition and reason, there are 3 instances each of subject focus verbs out of 49 and 18 clauses, or 6% and 16%, respectively. Thus only 11 out of 112, or 10% of the clauses, have subject focus verbs. This low proportion reflects the fact that the expository discourse is minus agent orientation. Behavioral discourse, by comparison, has 39% subject focus verbs (see 4.5.5.).

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSIONS

In this description of Eastern Bontoc grammar, it is assumed that the grammar is hierarchically structured, that there are distinctions to be made between deep and surface structures, that discourses can be classified according to Longacre's (1983) basic parameters, and that each discourse has its own structure. It is further assumed that discourse structures are different from genre to genre and that the structure above the sentence level has regulating power over the lower level grammar. The lower level grammar is described with structure above the sentence level in mind.

Behavioral discourse and expository discourse are distinguished by their basic parameter values. Both expository and behavioral discourses can be subclassified by the secondary parameter of projection. Behavioral discourse has the macrostructure to advise, whereas expository discourse has the macrostructure to explain.

The notional structure of behavioral discourse has four constituents: *projected circumstance, command element, support by argument*, and *justification theme*. Expository discourse has three: *condition, expository element*, and *reason*. Both of them have *introduction* and *finis* to properly introduce and conclude the script. Some of the sentence types are used in both discourses, e.g. conditional sentence, quotation sentence, concessive sentence, contingent sentence, and simple sentence, but imperative sentence occurs only in behavioral discourse. In behavioral discourse, pronouns are used in the second person, or in the first person inclusive. In expository discourse, pronouns are in third person for *explanatory* discourse and second person for *orientation* discourse. Behavioral discourse uses the particle ***at*** to introduce the summary of a command element in a paragraph, while expository discourse uses ***at*** to signal the thematic noun phrase by fronting it and inserting the inversion marker ***at*** after the noun phrase. Expository discourse also uses the particle ***kay*** to shift focus or theme of argument, whereas behavioral discourse does not. The similarities and differences between behavioral and expository genres are summarized in Figure 11.

	Behavioral	Expository
Macrostructure	To advise	To explain
Agent orientation	+:Participants identified	–:Participants not identified
Contingent temporal succession	–:Logical linkage	–:Logical linkage
Notional script	Projected circumstance	Condition
	Command element	Expository element
	Support by argument	Reason
	Justification theme	
Sentence	Imperative for command element	No imperative sentence
Pronoun	Second and first person inclusive	Third person and second person
Particle	***at*** to summarize command element	***at*** as inversion marker to front a NP ***kay*** to change focus

FIGURE 11. SUMMARY CHART OF BEHAVIORAL AND EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE GENRES

APPENDIX

Text B3

S1 Ah chakayo ay anak ko, naqoy nan ma-qifiaka-k kan chakayo nan
OM you lk child my this NM st.SF-advice-my OM you OM

om-inqinom ahnan fiayas. S2 Achi pararo-won, tay chachaqil-ona-y anaka
SF-drink OM rice wine not overdrink-OF since destroy-OF.it-NM well

achor. S3 Mo om-inom ta achi labs-on. S4 Laweng hen labs-on,
body if SF-drink we not overdrink-OF bad NM overdrink-OF

tay chachaqil-ona hen fiara, hen poso. S5 Ya laweng hen cha
since destroy-OF.it NM lung NM heart and bad NM prog

mon-langrang-qan. S6 Ma-qor-qor ta. S7 Ya laweng hen cha kankan-an
LF-view st.SF-headache we and bad NM prog say-OF

ahnan ibqa. S8 Nan fiayas hiya-h om-inchat hen laweng ahnan
OM companion NM rice wine this-NM SF-give OM bad OM

ibqa tay mo wacha na kanan, achi yo ma-qpoqotan. S9 Ya cha
companion since if exist his say not you st.SF-understand and prog

larawa kankan-an chi laweng, iso nga maqid ma-btok hen cha kankan-an, mo
just say-OF NM bad so-that none st.SF-use NM prog say-OF if

ma-fotang ta. S10 At chakayo-y ongongqa, achi ta om-inqinom. S11 Oray mo
st.SF-drunk we IM you-lk children not we SF-drink even if

wacha-y i-chat cha, ya kon simsim-an ya angkay. S12 Achi ta
exist-NM OF-give they and only taste-OF and only not we

kaqinoqinom karkaro-h nan fiaron ya hen choyas ya hen
drink all especially-OM OM roofing time and NM wedding and NM

lagragsak chi anaka tatako. S13 Masapor in-ila ay anakanchi man-ipod
happy time GM well people need OF-know lk well SF-control

ahnan lanoka-h nan fiayas, tay choray challo hen fiayas ahnan
OM taste-OM OM rice wine since much true NM rice wine OM

tempo-n hen choyas, paranos ya amqin ay changas, at choray
occasion-GM GM wedding celebration and all lk community help IM much

challo nan fiayas. S14 At chakayo-y ongongqa, masapor koma nga achi ta
true NM rice wine IM you-lk children need hope lk not we

mon-qinqinom. S15 Hen om-inom ya angkay hen choy cha lallakay, tay
SF-drink NM SF-drink and only NM that they old men since

laqos cha na-tang, laqos na-sikon hen achor cha. S16 Ngom kan
already they st.SF-mature already st.SF-big NM body their but OM

chakayo chachaqil-ona he achor yo, achi kayo ma-sikon. S17 Angkay chi-h
you destroy-OF.it OM body your not you st.SF-big that that-NM

i-fiaka-k.
OF-say-I

Free translation

1. You who are my children, this is what I say to you about drinking of rice wine. 2. Don't overdrink, since it destroys your body. 3. If we drink, don't overdrink. 4. Overdrinking is bad, since it destroys lungs and hearts. 5. And its feeling is bad. 6. We have a headache. 7. And words we say to our companions are bad. 8. It is rice wine that gives bad things to the companions, since if there are words to be spoken, then you cannot understand them. 9. And they just keep on saying bad words, so if one is drunk, what he says is useless. 10. And you who are my children, don't drink much. 11. Even if someone gives you some, you just taste it. 12. We should not drink too much, especially at the time of roofing a house, a wedding, and at any happy occasion of the people. 13. You need to know how to control the tasting of rice wine, since there is much rice wine at the time of wedding, celebration, and at all the occasions of a community project, and rice wine is abundant at those times. 14. So you who are my children, it is better that we do not drink much. 15. It is old people who drink, since they are already mature, and their bodies are big. 16. But your bodies will be destroyed, and they will not get big. 17. That's all I say.

Text B6

S1 Adqowan ay chatako ma-sikon amqin, hiya mokon wahchi wahchi kan
now lk we st.SF-mature all it hope each each OM

chitako ya ch-in-ngor tako-y tokon, tay om-oy-ak ad Fiagyo at
we and OF.compl-listen we-NM advice since SF-go-I OM Baguio IM

chakayo hen ma-yagyag hena at achi os e-ngangand-wan cha ina kan
you NM st.SF-remain here IM not also BF-make sad they mother OM

ama. S2 Kikad ta, ya in-ammaq-am chi chono oray cha achi i-fiaka
father behave we and do-OF.compl-you NM work even they not OF-tell

S3 chita ngon challo ya n-in-omnom hen chono ah fiaroy. S4 Ya ammo
we emph true and OF.compl-think NM work OM house and know

yo met at choray chi chono-won cha ina kan ama, at masapor ofos
you emph IM much NM work-OF they mother OM father IM need also

mon-qiblay cha. S5 Yangan he kan kayo challo mon-totongaw. S6 Ya
SF-rest they and NM only you true SF-take care of and

chakayo Simon, aachi toy ko ch-in-ngor ay kon ka kano cha-n
you Simon why emph I OF.compl-hear lk only you reportedly prog-SF

losalosaw ya man-afiako ka ya om-inom ka ofos he San Miguel. S7 Kon
absent and SF-smoke you and SF-drink you also OM San Miguel only

ammo yo ay cha ma-pa-likat-an cha ama kan ina, tay achi
know you lk they st.OF-cause-hard they father OM mother since not

om-mat chi sipeng kaskasin tay nangina-y ok fiayad he oswelaqan
SF-enough NM money especially since expensive-NM my tuition OM school

ya cha-yo i-kaskasin. S8 Mon-qanqanos kayo, ta mo ma-rpas chi
and prog-you OF-make worse SF-honest you so if st.SF-finish NM

oswela-k, ya wacha-y ok chono ya haqat yo pay i-fiaka-y laych-on yo
school-my and exist-NM my work and then you also OF-tell-NM like-OF you

kan haqon. S9 Hen anagqi tako challo at mon-finnachang tako he amqin,
OM me one sibling we truly IM SF-help each other we OM all

tay hen fiaroy tako. S10 Masapor ay torong-an tako hen chanakchakor tako,
since one house our need lk help-OF we NM parents our

tay cha-cha ma-rakay at l-om-agsak cha koma. S11 Ya ay achi
since prog-they st.SF-get old IM SF-happy they hopefully and QW not

yo laych-on ay i-pa-ngato-y ngachan cha ama kan ina? S12 Mokon
you like-OF lk OF-cause-high-NM name they father OM mother hope

yo ngon onoch-on hen in-qinat ko niloki hen kawad ko ah elementary
you emph follow-OF NM OF.compl-do my from NM place my OM

ya ah high school. S13 Wacha-y wacha-ak he osa-y honor pupil at cha-n
and OM exist-lk exist-I OM one-lk IM prog-SF

layiayad cha ama kan ina. S14 Ay maqid paqat apos yo? S15 Ya
happy they father OM mother QW none emph patience your and

in-ila yo ngon hen grado-k adqowan ofos. S16 Tay ay kon tako
OF-know you emph NM grade-my now also since QW only we

ongongqa inkana ma-sikon tako, at wahchi ngon wacha-y nomnom na ay
child until st.SF-mature we IM each emph each-NM think his lk

om-qasawa. S17 Ya ngachan pay hen e-pa-kan mo mo maqid achar
SF-marry and what emph NM OF-cause-eat your if none knowledge

mo ya chono-m? S18 Achi met os hihiyasa cha ina kan ama tay
your and work-your not emph also stay they mother OM father since

ma-rakay cha met os. S19 Angkay na-h i-fiaka-k ya hiya at mokon
st.SF-get old they emph also only this-NM OF-tell-I and it so hope

yo ch-in-ngor hen naqoy aket ya tokon ko. S20 Hen ya angkay chawat
you OF.compl-hear NM this little and advice my NM and only prayer

ko at achi yo koma paqat cha taptapi-yan chi problema-n cha ina
my IM not you hope emph prog add-OF NM problem-OM they mother

kan ama.
OM father

Free translation

1. Now all of us are grown up, and I hope each one of us will listen to my advice, since I go to Baguio, and you will be staying here, and I hope mother and father will not feel sad. 2. Let us behave ourselves, and you do the work even if they do not ask you. 3. We are the only ones to do the work at home. 4. And you know that there is much work to be done by mother and father, and they need to rest also. 5. You should be the one to take care of the need. 6. Simon, why people say, and I heard that you keep on escaping from school, and you smoke tobacco, and you drink San Miguel? 7. You know that what you do is making it more difficult for mother and father, since especially there is not enough money, because my tuition is expensive and you are making it worse. 8. Be honest; when I finish my school, and if I have my work, then you tell me what you like. 9. We are brothers, and we should help each other in all things, since this is our house. 10. We should help our parents, since they are getting old and they are supposed to be happy. 11. Don't you like to honor the name of our mother and father? 12. I hope you follow what I did from elementary school until high school, that is. 13. I was always an honor pupil, and father and mother were very happy. 14. Do you have patience? 15. You know that I am in college now. 16. Do we remain children even when we grow up, and each of us hopes to marry? 17. Then if you have no education and no work, how do you make your living? 18. Our parents will not be the same, since they are old. 19. That's all, I hope that you obey my small bit of advice. 20. The only prayer I have is that you do not add to the problems of father and mother.

Text E1

S1 Hen kasibtak ahen tinyorkiw ad Kachakran at mon-lapo ahen anongos hen
NM harvest OM long rice OM Kadaclan IM SF-begin OM end GM

Mayo inkana Julio. S2 Hetona ay kasibtak at ammay tay ma-qabqabfoyog
May until July this lk harvest IM good since st.SF-gather together

hen tatako ay mon-fiatak. S3 Mo hen osa ay tako at kayod
NM people lk SF-harvest if NM one lk man IM almost

ma-btak chi pakoy na, e-sakana na-y karni-h ischa, makan,
st.SF-ready for harvest GM rice his OF-prepare he-NM meat-GM viand food

ya limpos. S4 Konpay mo om-cha hen orkiw ay mon-fiatk-ana, oy-na
and rice wine when if SF-come NM day lk LF-harvest-LF.his go-he

i-yayag ahen sasagqo-na ya ibqa na ay mang-ali ngon, 'In tako ta oy
OF-call OM neighbor-his and relatives his lk SF-say QP go we so go

tako-n fiatak he payyew-mi-d-qowan wenno ah wakas.' S5 At hen chiyoy
we-SF harvest NM field-our-prep-now or prep tomorrow and NM this

cha oy maki-btak achi cha man-ngat, tay hiya-n chiyoy
they go together-harvest not they SF-bring lunch since that-NM this

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

nengpayyew hen ma-btak hen nang-among. S6 Wahchi on en-ara
owner of field NM st.SF-ripen NM SF-responsible each one OF.compl-get

na-y tochong na, ollemad na ya fiatawel na wenno awet na mo
he-NM raincoat his knife his and cane his or basket his if

me-saqor chi ma-btak he fiabroy. S7 Hen chiyoy cha mon-fiatak
st.OF-bring home GM st.SF-crop OM village NM this they SF-harvest

ma-henchohenchodwa cha, tay anadqachaqan hen fiatak. S8 Wacha kay ta
st.SF-divided two by two they since big NM crop exist so so

s-om-angrad cha, wacha cha-n tapina ay mon-porportiya ya mon-qogqokod
SF-lineup they exist they-SF others lk SF-ask riddles and SF-story telling

hen tapina ya mon-saqalichommay chi tapina. S9 Hen kay chiyoy
NM others and SF-keep singing NM others NM so this

nengpayyew. mon-sorqat ay mon-sakana-h kanon cha ahen mangkawa, tay
owner of field SF-cook lk SF-prepare-NM food their OM noon since

mangkawa ya angkay hen mang-an-an cha. S10 Konpay mo nang-an cha ahen
noon and only NM LF-eat their when if SF-eat they OM

nangkawa, kasin cha oy mon-fiatak inkana makayod yat wahchi on
noon again they go SF-harvest until late afternoon and each one

s-enm-aqor. S11 Hiya-chi hen at-on hen kasibtak ahen tinyorkiw ad
SF-go home that-this NM do-OF GM harvest time OM long rice OM

Kachakran.
Kadaclan

Free translation

1. The harvesting time of rice in Kadaclan begins at the end of May until July. 2. This harvesting time is good, because many people gather together to harvest. 3. When one person is almost ready to harvest his rice, he prepares meat, food, and rice wine. 4. When his day of harvesting arrives, he goes to call his neighbors and relatives, saying 'Let's go to harvest in our fields today or tomorrow.' 5. And these people who go together with him to harvest, they do not take their lunches, because the owner of the field of whose rice is ready to be harvested, he is the one who is responsible for the food. 6. Each one of them gets his raincoat, knife, cane, and basket. A basket is needed if the harvested rice is to be brought home that day. 7. These people who harvest, they are divided two by two, since the harvest is big. 8. When they are lined up, some people give riddles, some others tell stories, and still others keep on singing. 9. The owner of the field, he cooks to get ready for their food at noon, since only at noon do they eat together. 10. When they finish eating at noon time, they harvest again until late afternoon. And after that they go home to their own homes. 11. That is the way we do things at the time of long rice harvest in Kadaclan.

Text E4

S1 Hen om-qasawa-hna fiabroy tako, at mo pangoro, hiya hen manginfortan
NM SF-marry-here village our IM if eldest he NM one to inherit

ahen chamchamona ay payyew ya hen fosi mo wacha-y fosi poryok ya hen
OM many lk field and NM jar if exist-NM jar big pan and NM

kangsa. S2 Konpay hen enaqochi mo om-qasawa hiya hen manginkowa-h
gong and NM youngest if SF-marry he NM one to possess-OM

nan fiaroy ya hiya hen mangintokcho-h nan chiyoy ena na ya ama na.
OM house and he NM one to see-OM OM that mother his and father his

S3 Konpay hen chiyoy pangoro, kon cha e-safiatan he fiaroy na. S4 Ya
when NM that eldest only they OF-build OM house his and

konpay hen asawa ay maqid anak cha, at wacha hen mangintokcho-n chicha,
and NM couple lk none child their IM exist NM one to see-OM them

hiya hen chiyoy hen manginkowa-h nan chiyoy kokowa-n nan chiyoy
he NM that NM one to possess-OM OM that property-GM GM that

asawa ay maqid anak cha. S5 Mo maqid mangintokcho-n chicha kaya wacha-n
couple lk none child their if none one to see-OM them then exist-NM

ma-toy kan chicha ay hen asawa hen chiyoy ibqa cha kodkodwa-won
st.SF-dead OM them lk one couple NM that relative their share-OF

cha hen oycha payyew amqin ay kinako cha, mo ma-qanqanisqo hen
they NM their field all lk property their if st.SF-pay equally NM

kastos cha ofos mo tempo-n hen matayan. S6 Hen achi om-qasawa
expense their also if time-GM GM funeral NM not SF-marry

make-tokcho-h nan chiyoy ena na ya ama na S7 Angkayya hen chiyoy
together-see-OM OM that mother his and father his then NM that

oy na-fort-an, kon cha amqamma-qan amqin. S8 Ma-ramamong hen oyna
his st.OF-inherit only they make-OF all st.SF-live together NM his

chanakchakor ay aqamma-qan cha.
parents lk work-OF they

Free translation

1. A person who gets married in our village, if that one is the eldest child, he is the one to inherit many fields, the jar if there is a jar, the big pan, and the gong. 2. And if the one who gets married is the youngest child, he is to get the house, and he is the one to take care of his mother and his father. 3. And the eldest child, he builds his own house. 4. And if the married couple does not have children and there is someone who takes care of them, he is the one to inherit the property of this couple without children. 5. If there is no one who takes care of them and one of this couple is dead, their relatives divide all their fields and property, if at the time of the funeral both sides of the couple spend equally for their funeral expenses. 6. The one who does not get married, he takes care of his mother and father. 7.Then they work together for what he inherits. 8. He lives together with his parents to work.

REFERENCES

Allison, Joseph. 1977. Discourse analysis of a Southern Samal text. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 1:2:143-169.

Barlaan, Rodolfo R. 1977. Fact and fiction in Isneg narrative discourse. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 1:2:110-142.

Benn, Keith. 1979. Hortatory discourse in Central Bontoc with a justification theme. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 3:2:1-19.

Blake, Frank R. 1925. A grammar of the Tagalog language. New Haven: American Oriental Society.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1917. Tagalog texts with grammatical analysis. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 3, nos. 2-4.

_____. 1933. Language. N.Y.: Henry Holt & Co.

Brainard, Sherri. 1994. Voice and Ergativity in Karao. Eugene: University of Oregon Ph.D. Dissertation.

Brichoux, Robert, and Austin Hale. 1977. Some characteristics of hortatory strategy in Subanun. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 1:1:75-92.

Burquest, Donald A. 1981. A field guide for transformational grammar. Prepublication copy.

Busenitz, Bob. 1973. Bontoc survey. Ms.

Chomsky, Noam. 1965. Aspects of the theory of syntax. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press.

Clapp, Walter C. 1904. Trying to learn the Igorot language. Spirit of Missions 69:890-897.

De Guzman, Videa P. 1978. Syntactic derivation of Tagalog verbs. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication 16. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Dixon, R.M.W. 1977. Where have all the adjectives gone? Studies in Language 1:1:19-80.

Errington, Ross. 1979. Discourse types and tense patterns in Cotabato Monobo. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 3:2:218-222.

Fleming, Ilah. 1978. Discourse from the perspective of four strata. The Fifth LACUS Forum, pp. 302-317. Colombia, S.C.: Hornbeam Press.

Forfia, Kathleen. 1979. Nonpast tense in Ga'dang narrative discourse. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 3:1:10-16.

Forster, Keith. 1977. The narrative folklore discourse in border Cuna. In Longacre and Woods, eds., 1976-77, part 2, pp. 1-23.

Fukuda, Takashi. 1980. Discourse features in Kadaklan. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 4:1:71-100.

Grimes, Joseph E. 1975. The thread of discourse. (Janua Linguarum, ser. minor, 207.) The Hague: Mouton.

Hale, Austin. 1973. Toward the systematization of display grammar. In Clause, Sentence and Discourse Pattern in Selected Languages of Nepal, ed. Austin Hale. Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 40, part I, pp. 1-38. Norman, Okla.: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

_____ and C.R. Gieser. 1977. Approaches to an explanatory discourse of Guinaang Kalinga. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 1:1:133-147.

Halliday, M.A.K., and Ruqaiya Hasan. 1976. Cohesion in English. London: Longman.

Hopper, Paul J., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. Language 56:2:251-299.

Irwin, Barry Sidney. 1980. An introduction to information structure in Salt-Yui discourse. M.A. thesis, University of Texas at Arlington.

Jenks, Albert Ernest. 1905. Bontoc Igorot. Manila: Bureau of Public Printing.

Jones, Linda Kay. 1977. Theme in English expository discourse. Lake Bluff, Ill.: Jupiter Press.

Keenan, Edward L., and Bernard Comrie. 1977. Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar. Linguistic Inquiry 8.1:63-99.

Li, Charles N., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1976. Subject and topic: a new typology of language. In Subject and topic, ed. Charles N. Li, pp. 457-489. New York: Academic Press.

Llamzon, Theodoro A. 1976. Modern Tagalog: a functional-structural description. The Hague: Mouton.

Longacre, Robert E. 1968. Discourse, paragraph, and sentence structure in selected Philippine languages. 3 vols. First two volumes republished as Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 11. Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

_____. 1981a. A spectrum and profile approach to discourse analysis. Text 1:4:337-359.

_____. 1981b. Verb ranking and the constituent structure of discourse. Paper read at LSA meeting, N.Y., December 1981.

_____. 1983. The grammar of discourse. New York: Plenum Press.

_____ and Francis Woods, eds. 1976-77. Discourse grammar; studies in indigenous languages of Colombia, Panama, and Ecuador, parts 1-3. Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 52. Dallas and Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington.

Macabuhay, Perry, and Hella E. Goschnick. 1979. A Central Bontoc procedural discourse. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 3:1:86-111.

McKaughan, Howard. 1958. The inflection and syntax of Maranao verbs. Manila: Institute of National Language.

Mintz, Malcolm Warren. 1973. Case and semantic affixes of Bikol verbs. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii.

Mirikitani, Leatrice T. 1972. Kapampangan syntax. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication 10. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Naylor, Paz B. 1973. Topic, focus, and emphasis in the Tagalog verbal clause. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.

Newell, Leonard E. 1964. Independent clause types of Batad Ifugao. Oceanic Linguistics 3:177-199.

Ohlson, David H. n.d.(a). Phonology of Southern Bontoc. Ms.

_____. n.d.(b). Southern Bontoc verbal affixes. Ms.

_____ and Joan Ohlson. 1976. Morphophonemic changes in Southern Bontoc. Ms.

Persons, Diane L. 1979. Cohesive and coordinating conjunctions in Bolinao narrative discourse. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 3:1:1-9.

Persons, Gary C. 1979. Cohesion by means of participant identification in Bolinao narrative discourse. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 3:1:24-57.

Pike, Kenneth L. 1964. Beyond the sentence. College Composition and Communication 15:129-135.

_____ and Evelyn G. Pike. 1982. Grammatical analysis, 2nd ed. Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 53. Dallas and Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington.

Porter, Doris. 1979. Northern Kankanay morphology. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 3:2:20-62.

_____ and Austin Hale. 1977. Focus ranking in Tboli discourse. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 1:2:170-208.

Ramos, Teresita V. 1971. Tagalog structures. PALI language text. Philippines. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

_____. 1974. The case system of Tagalog verbs. Pacific Linguistics Series B 27. Canberra: Australian National University.

Reid, Lawrence A. 1970. Central Bontoc: sentence, paragraph, and discourse. Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 27. Norman, Okla.: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Oklahoma.

_____. 1971. Tense sequence in procedural discourse. The Archive, new series 2:2:15-42.

_____. 1974. The Central Cordilleran subgroup of Philippine languages. Oceanic Linguistics 8:511-560.

_____. 1979. Evidence for proto-Philippine nominative marking. Philippine Journal of Linguistics 10:1-20.

Schachter, Paul. 1976. The subject in Philippine languages: topic, actor, actor-topic, or none of the above? In Subject and topic, ed. Charles N. Li, pp. 491-518. New York: Academic Press.

_____ and Fe T. Otanes. 1972. Tagalog reference grammar. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schwartz, Arthur. 1976. On the universality of subject: the Ilocano case. In subject and topic, ed. Charles N. Li, pp. 519-543. New York: Academic Press.

Seidenadel, Carl Wilhelm. 1909. The first grammar of the language spoken by the Bontoc Igorot with a vocabulary and texts. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.

Shetler, Joanne. 1976. Notes on Balangao grammar. Language Data-Asia Pacific Series 9. Huntington Beach, Calif.: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Starosta, Stanley, Andrew K. Pawley, and Lawrence A. Reid. 1981. The evolution of focus in Austronesian. Ms.

Thomas, David. 1977. Subject/topic terminology and vectors. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 1:2:55-62.

Titrud, Kermit. 1979. Participant identification in Caluyanen. Studies in Philippine Linguistics 3:1:17-23.

Trudgill, Peter. 1974. Sociolinguistics: an introduction. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Walrod, Michael R. 1976. Case in Ga'dang verbal clauses. Papers in Philippine Linguistics 8. Pacific Linguistics Series A 46:21-44. Canberra: Australian National University.

_____. 1979. Discourse grammar in Ga'dang. Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 63. Dallas and Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington.

Waterman, Margaret Payson. 1913. A vocabulary of Bontoc stems and their derivatives. Manila: Bureau of Printing.

Wolfenden, Elmer. 1961. A restatement of Tagalog grammar. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics and Institute of National Language.

ISBN 971-18-0314-3